

Women, Craft and the Post Conflict Reconstruction of Kashmir

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Abstract

This thesis contributes towards the knowledge of post conflict crafts of Kashmir and the role women play in this sector. It proposes crafts to be a culturally relevant activity which could generate income for people living in Kashmir. It analyses the impact of the conflict on the crafts of Kashmir from the perspective of the craftspeople.

The research is based on fieldwork conducted in Srinagar, Kashmir (2003-2006). Here craftsmen's groups were studied and a craftswomen's organisation – Zanana Dastakari was used as a case study. Fieldwork techniques allowed the voices of crafts people to be heard, allowing this study to be conducted from their perspective. Supporting literature was used to place Kashmir within the larger context of crafts, gender and conflict.

The research found the crafts of Kashmir to have changed in response to the conflict, the most significant shift being of women joining the crafts sector as stakeholders. Women have selected the area of crafts due to their subjective preferences, which often stem from their identity as Muslim women. This work proposes links between poverty, unemployment and conflict and suggests that culture can play a role in economic development. In Kashmir economic development and reconstruction could be boosted through promotion of this sector.

The implications of this research in light of other research indicates a need for deeper understanding of identities and needs of women in conflict zones and the evolution of coping mechanisms used by them to generate sustainable incomes.

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Introduction

This research is focussed on the State of Kashmir, which is the northernmost State of India. Kashmir has been renowned for its crafts heritage, which flourished under the various dynasties that ruled Northern India over many centuries. Kashmir has undergone conflict due to a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan over rightful ownership of the State for nearly two decades now. A state of fragile peace exists in Kashmir now, allowing it to be categorised as a post-conflict zone. This research questions the impact of the long-standing conflict in Kashmir on the crafts of the State from the perspective of the Kashmiri crafts people. It looks at the socio economic changes in Kashmir's craft tradition, with a special focus on the crafts women of Kashmir. This thesis explores the potential that crafts have as a means of sustainable income generation that in turn could contribute towards reconstruction and development of this post conflict region.

I am ethnically Kashmiri thus my subjective perspective plays a part in my decision to study the State. There are a large variety of crafts that are made in Kashmir ranging from wood working, metal working to carpet weaving and shawl making. My educational background as a textile designer allowed me to focus this research on the textile craft of shawl making. My personal identity also determined the kind of information that I found for this research and also has an impact thereby on the methodology used for this research.

The Gap in the body of knowledge

Initial enquiry led to exploration of the literature that exists about Kashmir to understand the research and discourses that exist around this area. The momentous works of William Moorcroft (1841), Sir Francis Younghusband (1909), John Irwin (1973), Monique Levi Strauss (1987) and Frank Ames (1997) amongst many other similar works are rich in their descriptions of process and history and have traces of

information about the crafts persons of Kashmir, yet are too far outdated to be of relevance to the current scenario. There is a lack of information which contextualises crafts within the current socio-political scenario in Kashmir. On the other hand literature that addresses contemporary issues regarding Kashmir, revolves around the politics of the region but does not address or comment on the current socio-economic and cultural status of Kashmir. It is this gap in information that this thesis hopes to address. Indeed this present study is unique, as fieldwork in Kashmir and research into post conflict Kashmiri crafts from the perspective of the participant makers has never been done before.

The Research Question

- What is the current status of crafts in post conflict Kashmir and how has the conflict impacted them?
- Are they of significance and relevance to the reconstruction of Kashmir?
- Could crafts possibly be a culturally relevant source of sustainable income for women in Kashmir?
- Could crafts potentially contribute to the economic reconstruction of the State of Kashmir?

Research Aims

- Understand the status and significance of craft working in Kashmir.
- Examine the reasons behind people choosing this area of work to generate income.
- Understand women's engagement with crafts in Kashmir and the role their identity plays in this engagement.
- Examine how women perceive themselves as income generators within their families.
- Examine how women's working within crafts impacts power balances within the household.
- Understand the nature of the conflict in Kashmir, the reasons for its intractability and its impact on the craftspeople in Kashmir, especially the women.

- Gain understanding of theories about conflict, poverty, unemployment, gender and significance of craft working in post conflict regions
- Analyse models from studies conducted in other conflict regions such as Congo, Sierra Leone, El Salvador, Guatemala, Bosnia and Sri Lanka.
- Examine possible links between conflict, poverty and unemployment.
- Assess if sustainable income generation through craft work could provide the starting point for reconstruction of society and economy in Kashmir.

Research Objectives

- Understand craft, conflict, gender and reconstruction in context of Kashmir through fieldwork and literature reviews.
- Understand the history of craft making in Kashmir through literature reviews in order to establish its importance to the State.
- Compare and contrast past systems and processes of craft making in Kashmir through fieldwork and literature reviews to understand its current status.
- Examine the impact of the conflict on women in Kashmir through fieldwork.
- Through fieldwork investigate the reasons why women have resorted to craft making and how it impacts the power balances within their families.
- Conduct literature reviews to understand the role of women in post conflict zones.
- Investigate the nature of the conflict in Kashmir and the reasons for its intractability through literature reviews and fieldwork.
- Examine the links between conflict, poverty and unemployment through literature reviews of theories from other post conflict regions.
- Understand craft, culture, gender and reconstruction on a wider geographic scale as concepts of phenomenon seen outside Kashmir in other conflict areas.
- Examine the impact of the conflict on Kashmiri crafts through fieldwork.
- Examine relationship between women and income generation and its links to reconstruction and development through fieldwork and literature reviews.

The impact of conflict has been felt most by the women of the State, who impoverished by the conflict have resorted to craft manufacturing to support themselves and their families. Women thereby are central to this work. This radical shift in labour force in

craft making, which had traditionally been male dominated, is direct fallout of the conflict and thereby they have been studied as stakeholders in Kashmir's economic development and reconstruction. The increasing numbers of women craft workers in Kashmir are imperative to this work as they significantly reflect the changes that the conflict has wrought to the crafts of Kashmir. This shift in the labour force has also remained unmentioned in the few studies about Kashmiri crafts that have recently emerged.

This dimension of income generation through crafts and its importance to Kashmiri society led to further queries about how income generation links to poverty alleviation, promotion of peace and perhaps also in the long run the reconstruction of a conflict worn State and economy. This leads to the crux of this work. Initial research in Kashmir highlighted the important role crafts play in the society and economy of Kashmir in its current political situation. Heavy reliance by the Kashmiris on crafts as a means of income generation indicates that skill up gradation in this sector could potentially lead to further generation of income. The ability of crafts to generate income for the community that makes them has been recognised by development agencies and developing nations across the world, yet in Kashmir the principle has been applied intermittently. This thesis set out to examine if craft development in the current post conflict scenario in Kashmir could promote reconstruction of the State. The title of the study, 'Women, Craft and the Post Conflict Reconstruction of Kashmir' reflects on this.

The fieldwork (2003-2006) done in various stages of this research is the basis of the main contributions of this work, and thereby remains the key strength of this thesis. The originality and contribution to knowledge from this work lies in the information gathered from the people of Kashmir, whose voices are usually not heard. Fieldwork allowed for the development of conceptual questions and the development of ideas and propositions, which could provide solutions for Kashmir's future. This proposition is included in chapter one.

Chapter Layout

This thesis allows for understanding of multiple layers of information in order to answer the various elements of the research question. Therefore chapters have been designed to best allow interconnections between emerging issues to be established to allow data analysis to flow.

Chapter one looks at methodology and gives details of choices of approaches for research, decisions made for collecting and interpreting data and the justification behind these and how these best respond to the research question. It also includes the theoretical frameworks and the research proposition. Kashmir has been situated in chapter two. This chapter looks at the geography, economy and society of Kashmir. It informs the research question by situating Kashmir and allowing for a closer understanding of the region, its people, their identities and the role crafts plays in defining it.

The conflict in Kashmir, its origins and nature are covered in chapter three. This chapter includes the study of theories of conflict, which allow for understanding of intractability of the conflict, thereby informing the research about the current fragility of peace in Kashmir. This chapter responds to the research question by creating an understanding of the reasons for the popularity of crafts as a source of employment in a post conflict scenario, where fragile peace and an unresolved conflict create barriers for sustainable development.

Chapter four looks at the history of Kashmiri crafts, allowing for a reflection on past systems of making, trading, gifting that defined crafts from 1500-1987. This chapter critically assesses the structure of the Kashmiri crafts industry in order to get a closer understanding of the crafts of this region. It provides underpinnings for the understanding of the current status of Kashmiri crafts. It helps inform the research question by looking at the traditional importance of crafts and builds understanding of the reasons for the current importance and value of crafts in the region.

Chapter five looks at the post conflict economy of Kashmir and the role crafts play in it. This chapter analyses theoretical links between conflict, unemployment and poverty and also culture and development and builds a proposition based on these linkages, which indicates that crafts could potentially be a starting point for reconstruction of Kashmir. This chapter analyses the changing nature of crafts and also looks at their current importance, problems and challenges.

Women's voices from Kashmir are studied in chapter six which uses a case study approach to study Zanana Dastakari Production Markaz, a crafts women's organisation in Srinagar, Kashmir. It includes issues of gender, identity, religion, conflict, empowerment and the role of income generation. This chapter is central to this work and it builds and reflects on the data gathered in previous chapters of this thesis. This chapter establishes, through consolidation of information, the importance and relevance of crafts to Kashmir in a post conflict scenario in response to the research question.

The last chapter in this thesis consists of summary, conclusion and recommendations. This chapter reflects on the work contained in the thesis and summarizes the responses, which have been provided to the research question. It then draws conclusions from the study in order to propose further work in this field. Recommendations in this chapter propose analysis of social transformations that could be brought about by design interventions through provision of training.

Each chapter in this thesis includes a literature review and methodology, which is specific to the chapter allowing for a closer examination of the process of research that was carried out for each segment of this work. Each chapter also includes critical evaluation of the data and findings within it.

Chapter 1 - Methodology

This chapter focuses on the methodological and epistemological issues surrounding the methods selected for the research. It attempts to explain the methods that were undertaken to understand Kashmiri textile crafts, while at each stage explaining, understanding, justifying and validating the decisions made for the use of certain approaches. Parts of this chapter shall be built upon in other chapters of the thesis in order to clarify and re-establish the relevant methodology used in each section.

Work on Kashmir began as exploratory research where initial exploration consisted of keyword searches for: Kashmiri crafts, crafts in conflict, socio economic status of Kashmir, post conflict Kashmir, current status of Kashmiri crafts, Kashmiri politics, the conflict in Kashmir, crafts of Kashmir 1987, Kashmir from 1987-2005, craftsmen of Kashmir, craftswomen in Kashmir, identity of Kashmiris, post conflict reconstruction. This exploration later shifted and became more observational and later participatory. This shift was in response to the data collected and its analysis and allowed for critical examination of evidence. Secondary research revolved around understanding various pre-existing theories about conflict, crafts, gender, economics, poverty, culture and development which were later integrated within the primary data findings to construct a response to the research question. Methodologies used to undertake this research were varied depending on the area being researched. This work used a qualitative approach; justification for using this approach is included in this chapter.

1.1 Qualitative Method Approach

Research methodology, approaching research data, analysis and validation techniques were developed through literature reviewing of the texts that have been written about method research. The readings that were mainly used are works of Creswell (2003), Miles and Huberman (1994) and Denzin and Lincoln (eds.) (2005). Grounded theory and its meanings were sought in works of Glaser and Straus (1977) as well as Corbin and Strauss (eds.) (1997). These works were useful and informative in understanding

various approaches and were used for guidance alone in the initial stages of this work. Also of use in the initial stages were works by Edgar and Sedwick (eds.)(1999), Heller (1999) and Butler (2002) which deal with issues of cultural theory including modernity and post modernism.

The research was varied but leaned more towards being qualitative than quantitative. Empirical data was collected through interviews and observations which were the principal methods used in research. This was because of the nature of the research questions as well other limitations to data collection that were noticed in the initial stages of research. Data collection in Kashmir was challenging as figures and statistics that emerge from Kashmir are few and far in between. The inherent nature of conflict, where the social infrastructure of the State had collapsed, leads to a lack of reliable and updated data available from government and non-government sources. Individuals who lived in an environment of insecurity were reluctant to impart information or participate in any data collection, which could be held against them, particularly statistical data. In Kashmir information was protected and being an informant carried prejudice and possibly also a penalty, thus seeking quantifiable data was difficult, this was one of the biggest barriers in my way. Low literacy levels of the population and the post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which a large number of Kashmiri people suffer from meant that the only possible way to engage and gauge the population was mainly through observations and unstructured interviews. Development in post conflict areas has established the need for 'sensitizing' the fieldworker, where in awareness of local issues, points of conflict that need sensitivity are highlighted and studied by the fieldworker before approaching the field (Gasser et al. 2004). This was found to be an important factor for developing the appropriate approach for gathering data.

The choice of a qualitative approach has been defined by Denzin and Lincoln (2005), '(...) a situated activity that located the observer in the world. It consists of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world (...)into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self (...) qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers

study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p.3)

It was therefore crucial that I assess my methods of gathering data, this assessment allowed me to understand how situational constraints of working in Kashmir would shape my inquiry. I felt the need to be an observer and perhaps also a participant from time to time, and used an almost ethnographical approach to this study, which allowed me to understand subjectively my surroundings while at the same time earn trust of the people I wanted to study. As this work involved elements of social research issues of ethnography and anthropology were studied through works of Hammersley and Atkinson (1989), Clifford and Marcus (eds.)(1986). These works allowed for a closer understanding of the approaches to data collection and analysis and provided guidance for fieldwork (2003-2006). Barley's work (1986) that dealt with anthropological approaches in research was used in combination with Van Maanen (1988). These were of particular use in the initial stages of fieldwork (2003-2006) by indicating how fieldwork progresses and the problems therein. Study of these texts indicated that close contact with respondents over a long period of time could create limitations to the study results. A study of anthropological texts pointed out the issues to be aware of while gathering data. These have been identified and named by Wax in 1971; the terminologies used here have been coined by Wax (1971):

- a) Hollistic fallacy: which would lead to interpreting events as more patterned and congruent than they really are, at the risk of eliminating many loose ends which might have emerged due to nature of social life.
- b) Elite bias: this would lead to overweighting data from the articulate and well informed respondents, who usually are the high status respondents, thereby under representing data from lower status, less articulate respondents
- c) Going native: which would mean losing of perspective, or what Wax calls "bracketing" ability by being co-opted into the explanations of the local people.

These three biases identified by Wax (1971) (cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.263) correspond to representativeness, availability and weighting. These three aspects were used essentially to guide my work and have been looked at closely within this

chapter. Elite biases and awareness of them was an important procedure of thought while data was being gathered and analysed. Meeting articulate people often produced data which was stronger and contained clarity. Critical analysis revealed that the risk of the elite bias was strongest at the starting stages of the study, whilst the risk of falling into the trap of holistic fallacy was higher towards the later stages of this work.

Qualitative research enabled me to study, understand and describe craft people's personal experience of the phenomenon of conflict and its impact on them. This is commented upon by Miles and Huberman, 'Qualitative analysis, with its close-up look, can identify *mechanisms*, that go beyond sheer association. It is unrelentingly *local*, and deals well with the *complex* network of events and processes in a situation. It can sort out the *temporal* dimension, showing clearly what preceded what, either through direct observation or *retrospection*.' (Miles, Huberman, 1994, p.147)

The qualitative approach also allowed me to embed crafts people's problems within the local context, yet also enabled me to conduct cross-case comparisons and analysis with post conflict zones in other parts of the world. This has been done in chapter five and six. In these chapters the importance of links between conflict, poverty, unemployment, prevalence of corruption, lack of aid and development as well as the impact of conflict on women has been studied from the Kashmiri perspective and has been situated within the larger global scenario by drawing comparisons to places like El Salvador, Rwanda, Colombia, Sierra Leone, Vietnam, Sudan, Uganda and other such areas of long standing conflict, the use of a qualitative approach allowed me this cross mapping. Emerging dimensions of primary data were cross-mapped with literature reviews to contextualise them in order to gain a deeper understanding of Kashmir's status and provide comprehensiveness to this research.

The qualitative approach also allowed me to collect and study data in a naturalistic setting, bearing in mind the delicate political scenario I was working in. It enabled me to be more responsive to the local situation, conditions and the needs of the local stakeholders. This was one of the fundamental strengths of using this approach (Denzin and Lincoln, (eds.) 2005). Since I was exploring the area and believed myself to have no

preconceived notions it made it essential that I chose an approach which would allow me to be responsive to the changes that might occur in my volatile surroundings, and perhaps allow me to shift the focus of my study if the need arose.

Reflexivity was an important way in which I could be aware of myself and my potential biases and predispositions and the effect these may have on the research process and conclusions. This is especially useful since my fieldwork visits (2003-2006) were extended and conducted over long periods of time. This reflexive approach has been studied and recommended by several researchers including Miles and Huberman (1994) and by Fontana and Frey (In: Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, pp 695-728). I understood that this could work both ways, with my influencing the work and the work influencing me in return. Foley and Valenzuela (2005, cited in Denzin and Lincon, 2005, p.217-234) have elaborated on this concept from the ethnographic perspective. Remaining objective at all times is not a possibility for complex human being, my opinions and reactions to situations were not predetermined. As a researcher in the field I needed to interact with my environment and also be involved in dialogue with respondents. The aim of remaining neutral and objective forms part of traditional empiricism as a theory of knowledge, this has been challenged by many scholars and a vast amount of literature exists about this issue. However for purposes of this research I had to accept that biases could not be avoided but could instead be monitored and reported (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I was aware of situations where information I needed was different from what the informant wanted me to receive. How I was viewed as a researcher was also important, though I could not completely control this, I was aware of how I could be perceived by respondents. Being unequivocal in my intent allowed me to remove some biases, staying for longer periods of time, maintaining a low profile and using unobtrusive measures to locate information and travel within the city of Srinagar were approaches which helped me overcome some biases. These and other dimensions of self reflection and its impact on research are elaborated further in relevant sections of this thesis.

1.2 Critical Analysis of the Qualitative Approach

I was critically aware of the limitations of using the qualitative approach alone, which in this case meant that my findings might be too specific to the relatively few people included in the research and therefore I might not be able to generalise the knowledge generated to other people or other settings. I would also be restricted in making quantitative predictions and thereby possibly prevent the generation of a hypothesis which could be tested with large participant pools. In the long run this approach could also consume more time in data gathering and analysis. Lastly, I was aware that using this approach might also limit the amount of credibility this work and its fallout (follow up work) would have amongst bodies that fund research¹. Thus it was essential that I analyse other approaches that exist in order to choose the one that best suited the nature of this work.

Critical analysis of using a quantitative approach pointed out to the possibility that the knowledge produced might be too abstract and general for direct application to the specific situations outside of Kashmir, especially within the context of gender and conflict, in as much as the voices of the individuals might be left unheard. This is not to say that the idea of using a quantitative approach was abandoned in totality, as it was used within limits in parts of this research. I was aware of the positive aspect of using this approach, which in this case meant that if I did come across relatively large amounts of quantitative data it would enable me to more credibly establish a cause and effect relationship between craft and development. Some of these have been identified by Creswell (2003) and other researchers who have compared qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative research would also allow me to test/ generalise my research finding on different population groups, which I was keen to explore. Thus the search for quantitative data was ongoing but was not the primary approach used. Statistical data for Srinagar has been used within some chapters.

¹ See Smith, J.K, Hodkinson, P (2004) Relativism, Criteria, and Politics. In: Denzin, N.K and Lincoln, Y.S, eds. *The Sage Handbook and qualitative Research*, 3rd edition, California, Sage, pp 915-932
See also Cheek, J (2004) The practice and politics of funded qualitative research. In: Denzin, N.K and Lincoln, Y.S, eds. *The Sage Handbook and qualitative Research*, 3rd edition, California, Sage, pp 387-409

Awareness of the limitations and pitfalls of the two main approaches – qualitative and quantitative, directed me to explore options that would provide a continuum between the two. The mixed research approach was therefore studied; this approach could allow me to use the strengths of each of the two methods to overcome any gaps or weaknesses of either. It could possibly allow more flexibility in looking for data, gathering it and analysing it without being confined to any one approach. I could provide stronger evidence for a conclusion through converging and corroborating my findings². However, before selecting the mixed method approach I had to analyse problems of using this approach that I may come across.

The major problem that stood out with using this approach was the time constraints. I understood that conducting qualitative *and* quantitative research would be highly time consuming, in order to finish within the time scale governing this research; I would have to conduct both concurrently. It would mean that during each stage of research I would need to look for multiple types of information and simultaneously categorise the data I gathered into sub sections, so that analysis could be conducted in a manner that would be appropriate to the particular datum. Researching cases where this approach has commonly been used revealed that larger research teams often use this approach to conduct research, this is due to the large amounts of time such methods need. I did realise that using this approach would possibly challenge the completion of this study within the time and financial constraints of this study. This approach therefore was abandoned in favour of the qualitative approach.

This research assumes that qualitative methods could produce more complete knowledge necessary to inform the theories and practice that have been studied in this work. Qualitative methods involve the use of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials and varied perspectives which all formed a part of the fieldwork (2003-2006) that was conducted. This would allow me to include rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to the inquiry. Flick (2002) agrees that qualitative

² This is a principle of triangulation and is discussed further on in this chapter. For further details see Creswell, J.W (1998), *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five traditions*, Sage, California. See also Atkinson, P., Delamont, S (2004) *Analytics perspectives*. In: Denzin, N.K and Lincoln, Y.S, eds. *The Sage Handbook and qualitative Research*, 3rd edition, California, Sage, pp 821-840.

research is multi-method in focus and thereby provides increased richness to study. This work was a result of an interactive process and my own personal history, gender, social class, race, culture and ethnicity and also those of the people I studied shaped the study.

1.3 Data Collection

Approaching data, data collection and issues of qualitative data analysis and validation were guided by works of Lincoln and Guba (1989)(1985) and (1981) and were also found within works of Denzin and Lincoln (eds.) (2005) and Ragin (1987). A closer analysis of approaches and research design were found in works of Creswell (2003), Flick (2002) and Yin (2003).

The research began with my setting out to collect empirical materials, which bore on the research question. This was followed by analysis of this material (mainly fieldwork data) and presentation. Research was undertaken in stages, which comprised of primary and secondary research, these worked in cycles. This enabled me to inform my research and direct it systematically. Data from primary research informed searches for secondary data, which in turn enabled me to ask insightful questions and thereby determined the kind of data gathering and analysis to be done in the following stage. Being qualitative in nature I had to identify the boundaries of the research by remaining focussed on the research questions. These boundaries were somewhat indeterminate in the beginning but became more defined as sampling and data gathering was undertaken, this is seen as a common occurrence in qualitative research according to Miles and Huberman (eds.) (1994). The research question was at the core of each stage and helped me focus the searches, collection and analysis.

1.3.1 Literature Reviews

Literature reviews were carried out in the broad areas of Kashmiri history, economics, politics, gender, conflict, culture, crafts and society. These were later narrowed down to specific readings about culture and development, post conflict reconstruction, impact of

conflict on women, conflict and unemployment, nature of conflicts, role of income generation in post conflict zones, importance of culturally relevant activities in development, identity, Islam and issues of training. Research began with literature reviews of books, journals, newspapers as well as research papers around these themes. This included reviewing academic works in the field of research methodology as well. Publications by non government bodies, reports from the human rights agencies, United Nation's charters, the World Bank reports as well as policy papers of peace groups and development think tanks were reviewed. Published materials by writers like Roy (2002, 2004), Chomsky (1992, 1999, 2003) as well as journalistic writing by Singh (1996), Quraishi (2004) and Butalia (ed.)(2002) were also included in this research. Statistical data and archival reports from government of Jammu and Kashmir were found and these were used as primary sources for statistics on Kashmir.

The literature searches allowed me to establish that there was no literature on contemporary Kashmiri textile crafts from after 1987 that examined the changes in crafts since 1987 or indeed looked at the impact of conflict on the crafts. Initial searches thereby confirmed the gap in the body of knowledge that exists about Kashmiri crafts. This secondary research also allowed me to plan my fieldwork in Kashmir (2003-2006) to some extent and also justify the need for it. During the later parts of research the literature reviews were used in combination with primary data to develop responses to the research question.

1.3.2 Sampling and Respondent Selection

I was critically aware of the temptation of heading straight to Kashmir and seeking information from the craftspeople first, who seem to be (and are) the most study-relevant group. This was in light of the research question and its most simplistic straightforward response. However literature reviews about the complex nature of sampling lead me to approach this element of research with caution. Guidance was sought in work by Miles and Huberman (eds.) (1994) and Creswell (2003) in the field of sampling; this gave me the relevant tools to critically assess my sampling strategy. One of the other considerations to sampling was restriction imposed upon it with limitation

of resources of time and money. This meant constant awareness of constraints and planning sampling accordingly.

Sampling, which is the selection of respondents who contributed to this study, was undertaken bearing in mind the conceptual nature of the study, the social size of the group I would access, the physical location of this work as well as its temporal extent. It was understood that sampling would be crucial for data analysis at a later stage. The choice of who to talk to, where, when, why and about what, would in the end determine what conclusions I would be able to draw. Because of the qualitative approach I had selected for this work, I was able to work with small samples of people, who were nested in their local context. These samples were not pre-specified and evolved over the period of fieldwork (2003-2006). However the initial choices of informants lead me to observe similar and different ones. I also located a group of craftswomen who have been included as a case study.

I understood the need to include some peripheral sampling within this work, thereby conversations were held with people who were not central to the phenomenon of post conflict crafts but provided information which was used to enable contrasting and comparing. This was later understood as maximum variation sampling (Guba and Lincoln, 1989) wherein a somewhat deliberate hunt for negative variations and instances was sought. This is also known as understanding exceptions and is a particularly useful way of including voices, which were deviant and had been recommended by various social research studies carried out by other researchers. Though some of these opinions were inconvenient and spoilt the carefully built discussion of the research, they provided checkpoints in my analysis and assumptions (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and allowed me to critically analyse the reasons for their being deviant. I chose to remain open to any deviant information that might come through, knowing it to be a way of possibly further refining my thoughts and also possibly make my data more valid. This approach is also known as differential weighting of evidence and information. Varied samplings allowed me to not only view the situation from different perspectives but also allowed provision of a level of neutrality and validity to my work. At a later stage, I was able to focus more clearly on

some sections of the selected sample. This, conceptually driven sequential sampling, provided the sampling frame that was essential for this work.

Initial fieldwork (2003) visits aimed at familiarising myself with my surroundings, conduct a recognisance of the situation in Kashmir and determine where the craft hubs in Srinagar were. This enabled me to establish contact with respondents who could contribute to the study. Visits to New Delhi, Mumbai and Jammu were undertaken in 2003-2004 to acquaint myself with the bureaucracy and the government and non-government players in the field of crafts as well as Kashmiri craftspeople in Srinagar.

Interviews were conducted with

- 1) Non Government Organisations that work within craft development in India
- 2) Government Organisations that deal with Handicrafts on a national level
- 3) Government of Jammu and Kashmir State
- 4) Individuals and groups who work within the sector of crafts in Kashmir and outside in other parts of India
- 5) Crafts people in Kashmir

This grouping was based on the information I was searching for and highlights how information and perspectives were found and analysed. Main subject areas were identified for the interviews, which varied in accordance to the background of the respondent. Similar issues that informed the research questions were referred to but the emphasis of the interviews depended on the organisation and individuals being interviewed. As materials and ideas emerged some respondents were interviewed again with a changed emphasis of the questions. As mentioned earlier, the interviews were mainly unstructured and few were semi structured. The main respondents, subject areas of the interviews and sample questions have been listed in a tabular format in appendix one³

³ This appendix is not verbatim as asked in the interviews.

1.3.3 Representativeness within Sampling

There was the inadvertent risk of not meeting enough informants to get meaningful data. This was a risk that all researchers face and might be due to varied reasons. It could mean over reliance on a few articulate and intellectually responsive informants. This risk, as mentioned before was high at the start of the work, where I met the elite bureaucrats and businessmen, as well as high level non-government sector employees. Their opinions and responses were studied critically. Yet the aim of finding crafts people in Kashmir and providing them with a voice remained a focal point of this study, therefore over reliance could be ruled out. However this problem reoccurred later when the articulate and numerous male crafts workers outnumbered the female craft workers. There were few craftswomen, yet their voices needed to be heard, the majority of craftsmen would have been able to provide me with data for analysis, yet not including the women in this study would lead to misrepresentation of the Kashmiri crafts sector as a whole.

Guidance about gendered considerations within sampling was sought in the literature. Feminist thought and approaches were studied in works of Mohanty (2003), Ribbens and Edwards (1998), Spivak (1988), Kemp and Squires (1997), Narayan (1989) and Mauthner and Doucet (1998). Some of these have been included in this chapter, and others have been used in various other chapters. Interviewing and neutrality within it, which included issues of reflexivity, were studied in works by Fontana (2005). Understanding of women's voices was also guided by works of Parr (1998). The understanding of feminist approaches and the discussion of biases within work were found to be highly useful during fieldwork (2003-2004) especially in the works of Oleson (1994) (2005). Oleson (1994) maintains that rather than designing out biases, biases can be used as resources to guide data gathering, this thinking has been influential in deciding whom to interview at the outset of research. On the other hand awareness of biases and importance of relativism and reflexivity were also studied to maintain a balance.

1.3.4 The Case Study

Zanana Dastakari Production Markaaz (ZDPM)⁴, a women craft workers group have been identified as a case study. This non-government organisation was of interest due to their identity as a prominent women's crafts association in Kashmir. I met Mr Firdaus Punjabi the Managing Director of ZDPM and the crafts women who worked in this organisation. This case study forms the basis of information, which was gathered about craftswomen in Kashmir. The case study provides insight into impact of conflict on women and the role of crafts in their lives. It examines the subjective reasons of culture and identity that women stated for their choosing to work in crafts. As an association of women, who have been impoverished by the conflict and who now work within the area of crafts in the non government sector they provide responses to the research question.

1.3.4.1 The Methodology of the Case Study

Case study design was studied in works of Yin (2003) and George and Bennet (2005) and Stake (2005). These were particularly useful for analysing the case study and have been included in chapter six. Though I had gathered empirical data from the case study and also secondary information about women in areas of conflict, I was critically aware that I should not apply a combination of these to generalise or theorise the case study. I was aware of how this case study informs elements of the research question. I recognised the need to understand the case in itself. There would be concepts and issues within the case study, which needed to be identified, studied, analysed and then applied within the broader understanding of this research. These issues needed to be chosen in terms of what could be learned from the study of these women and how this informs the research question. Here the use of a qualitative approach was most useful.

I was keen to study the contexts within which this NGO was situated, apart from the physical context of it being located in a post conflict zone. Therefore questions about the aims of the organisation, what they do, how they employ people, training,

⁴ Translation from Urdu: Women's Crafts Workers Production Association.

remunerations, skills up-gradation, who they do business with, what support they receive were posed. The description and interpretation of these activities are included in chapter six. This case study forms part of the empirical study undertaken for this research.

1.3.4.2 Workshop method within Case Study

The need to provide design training for women who worked in the NGO was identified in the case study. ZDPM were keen to receive training from me, which could promote understanding of design as well as update women with craft design processes which have been used in other craft making communities outside Kashmir. This need had not been predicted and was a new finding and would allow me to study the impact design interventions could have on income generating abilities. Careful planning allowed the creation and delivery of brief training workshop. It was executed in a participatory manner at ZDPM. Women were introduced to basic concepts of design, knowledge of which came from my own background as a practitioner of textile design. This design workshop, though brief, brought further comments and was received well by the women of ZDPM, the details of the training are included as appendix six.

1.3.5 Validation

Findings needed validation and various methods were used for this. Triangulation a concept coined by Webb et al. (1965) was considered to be a useful method in confirming findings. Denzin (1978) made distinctions in triangulation, which allowed for different sources, methods, researchers and theory to be used as ways of seeing things. During my research I collected and verified findings using multiple resources and evidence. This also worked as analysis as it meant seeing/ hearing multiple instances of information from various sources using different methods. This method though elaborately defined and studied, is often a sub conscious gesture within a querying mind. How people see things, what is written about it and how it is perceived by the researcher helps form the whole picture. Creative analytical ethnographers take this concept further and call it 'crystallization' where in having a fixed point or object to

be viewed in a triangulation format is deconstructed. According to Richardson and St.Pierre, creative analytical processes indicate that there are ‘far more than three sides’ by which to approach the world (2005, cited in Miles and Huberman, 2005, p.963). For this research the concept of triangulation for validation was used intermittently depending on the area being analysed.

Replication of findings is yet another recommended way of confirming whether data is dependable or not (Creswell, 2003) (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Replication was done by gathering new information from new informants in varied settings around Kashmir⁵. This new data effectively bolstered old data by testing the generality and validity of it. In the second instance, the idea of developing the proposition mentioned earlier on, into a hypothesis, which could be tested in another part of Kashmir or even a completely different group of people in a separate location, was thought to be the best way of replicating these findings. However limitations of time and financial constraints meant this was not finally possible, although as Miles and Huberman (1994) indicate, such replication is often desirable for validating research findings.

Replication of findings was also conducted during the last stages of this work. I met respondents and read out parts of the research findings to them, to gauge what they thought about it. Groups of respondents (men and women) were informed about the conclusions I had drawn from the study and the recognition of needs they had identified themselves in earlier meetings and interactions. This feedback was deliberately planned to not include the micro level findings, which might have been considered too abstract by a majority of craft workers (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Information was not presented as text, but as conversations, which were partly read out and partly conversed about. Yet again the critical element of being cautious and forthright about the limitations of this work was included. It was indicated that the need for further work in the form of training had been identified; yet it was also pointed out that I, as the researcher may not necessarily carry it out.

⁵ See Appendix 1

The research question at the heart of this study was explained out several times during these interactions, and the responses to this question, regarding the impact of the conflict on Kashmiri crafts were read out. Theoretical links between poverty and conflict were understood. The women at ZDPM understood the theoretical links between gender and development and the unique impact of conflict on women in other parts of the world. However the more abstract links between culture and development, and priorities of post conflict development were not easy to explain. The only remarks I received about the theories I spoke about questioned their usefulness and applicability in the real world. Conversion of research into work that undertakes action for social change is what was hinted at. This is a point of much debate amongst researchers who work within the field of anthropology, ethnography and other methods of action research and this thesis does not cover the scope of this discussion. However further work and recommendations based on this are included at the end of this thesis.

Feedback from respondents is often seen as a form of validation, allowing local people to act as judges of the findings of the study would be a good way of corroboration. Stake (1976, cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.275) argued that such feedback is quasi-ethical, as the respondents should have the right to know what the researcher found out. Fortunately none of the people I interviewed and observed determined access on the condition that feedback would be provided. However ZDPM were keen to work further with me on any feedback I provided to them. Reflection on feedback mechanism reveals that this method of validation is open to many biases; what I find, and how I introduce it to the people I worked with, could be highly influenced by what I want them to verify. I believe that this approach has the potential of being a devious way of validating findings by asserting control over informants, influencing their thinking, omitting variations and also not providing them with tools to disagree or deviate. The complication of working in under developed regions is the ability of the informants to attach their hopes of a better life or success in their undertakings to the researcher. Researchers thereby run the inherent risk of being idolised as the 'saviours' of the people they work with, this could give one a sense of power and control over the vulnerable people who one works with. In providing feedback I could run the real risk

of raising people's hopes that I could provide a solution to their problems with craft working. This is a tremendous responsibility and also has ethical repercussions.

Spending time in the field allowed me to collect first hand data and reach out to secondary sources to verify second hand data, which had emerged. Most data was collected in informal settings where the respondents were left alone with me, however some instances of group settings were also seen. However repeated visits, which allowed the possibility of one to one access at some point of time in the day, during lunch and tea breaks allowed interaction between individual respondents and me. A majority of this data emerges from observations of behaviour and activity. Combining data weighting with other efforts of validation such as reflexivity, representativeness and triangulation allowed me to develop stronger and more verifiable data.

1.3.6 Interview Techniques

Depth interviews were used for gathering detailed information from individuals and groups. Interviews enabled me to discuss issues within post conflict craft making with respondents more freely. By using unstructured or semi structured interviews I could cover a large number of areas such as economics, politics and gender within craft making. Unstructured interviews are largely determined by the response of the interviewee, though interview protocol devised by me before the interview allowed me to provide prompts within important areas to keep the interview focussed on issues of importance and relevance to this research. Responses to prompts within questions allow for issues to be built on and enlarged and these were seen as a way to gather more detailed information than what might be obtained by formal, pre structured interviews. Here guidance from Fontana and Frey (1994) allowed me to understand the importance of pre determination that allows for flexibility in semi-structured interviews without the loss of focus on the issues of importance. Thus unstructured and semi structured interviews were chosen as a technique. This also allowed me to take into account the working environments, seating arrangements, body language etc, which could be seen as secondary to the transcribed interview but proved to be useful in helping me 'situate'

the discourse. The interviews allowed data from initial interactions to be transcribed and analysed and then be used to develop further interview protocols.

Interview structure comprised of general questions, which were derived from the research questions. Questions asked were open ended and revolved around data, which could answer the research question. I chose not have predetermined questions, but in introducing myself I also introduced the research question as a broad area of inquiry and allowed the respondents to talk openly. Questions were not asked in a specific order as the sample of respondents used for data collection was varied depending on their employment background. Often respondents answered more than one question in a single response or discussed issues in a way, which needed the order of questions to remain flexible. In following the direction taken by the respondent I could allow data to flow more naturally and freely, which often resulted in broader discussion of issues pertinent to the respondent. This was seen as an approach which best allowed crafts people in Kashmir to express themselves and be involved within discussion and questioning due to the openness and informality of the interaction. Allowing the respondents to be at ease was essential to this work, bearing in mind the nature of the post conflict region.

Observation of activities with unstructured questions was carried out during the case study as well. I was keen to know about training and welfare of the women at this organisation. The organisation was keen to establish an understanding of their profile and the role they chose to play in the lives of the women. Thus initial questions were semi structured allowing for data about the organisation to be gathered. These were later modified to unstructured questions over periods of interaction, allowing women to respond and react to my questions, generating rich data that has been included in the case study. This interaction based on unstructured interviews and observations established a good rapport between the women and me, which is essential for successful interviews (Fontana and Frey, 1994).

An important aspect of interviewing techniques which bears mentioning here is the relevance of daily wages to crafts people. While in-depth structured interviews would have been possible, they could possibly be a limited response to them as time spent

away from work, in answering detailed structured questions, organized in a systematic formal sequence could possibly be seen as a negative by respondents. Such questions and the time taken to answer them could result in a loss of wages especially for those who are paid an hourly or daily wage. Therefore interviews and observations were carried out whilst they were at work, and allowed them to interact with me with no loss of daily wages or income or even completion of craft pieces. It is here that my experience of working as a textile designer in a developing country informed my understanding of the importance of daily wage to the craft workers. This interviewing technique also allowed parallel observations to be conducted.

1.3.7 Data Analysis

Awareness of pitfalls of preliminary data analysis from readings of texts on research methodology allowed me to undertake data analysis with care. Early data collection is known to be partial, flawed and simplistic in some important aspects (Miles, Huberman, 1994). Thus the information I had gathered from the respondents above was approached warily. It was hoped that this data would point to improved data collection as well as lead to deeper analysis as better quality data emerges. Analysis helped me explore, summarise my findings and ask further questions, which could all in turn enable me to develop responses to the research question.

A large volume of data was generated through fieldwork (2003-2006). I had not anticipated this. Data gathering was loosely structured and had used few pre-structured instrumentation tools. I had used audiotapes, field notes, and photographs, memos to observe and record my findings. The methods used by me for collecting data recorded issues that build a coherent picture of the Kashmiri crafts and faithfully captures the meanings of its participants, this is understood as an interpretive method in anthropology (Williams, 2003). The approach to data analysis varied in accordance to data, though the overarching approach was interpretive with aspects of social anthropology. Analysis was conducted in two steps, the first was to reread, consolidate and assimilate the data gathered into transcripts; the second was to code it which would allow it to be retrieved at a later date.

Analysis of qualitative data was studied in works of Miles and Huberman (1994). Here interpretivism as a method of analysis was studied, which consists of understanding developed through group interactions where interpretation of meaning is made by both the social actors and also by the researcher (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.8). This was used to a very limited extent for analysis. The data gathered from fieldwork (2003-2006) was not heavily condensed but was re-read to understand the essence of what emerged from the accounts of the crafts people. However the pitfalls within this approach to analysis included the possible presence of external information within the data generated due to the lack of few pre established instruments within data collection. This was taken on board and data was analysed with intent of removing external components, which did not respond to or throw light on the research question. Reflections of my thoughts within the fieldwork journal allowed me to maintain details of the interactions and also systematically identify data that was not directly relevant to the research question and segregate it. An element of reflexivity within analysis as well was essential to allow data gathered to be presented without presence of personal biases that could influence its interpretation.

Analysis started with the understanding of multiplicity of data, which was varied due to the different backgrounds of the respondents. Thus while the craftspeople had informed me about the struggling markets in which they worked, women spoke about a need for training, businessmen spoke at length about the debilitating impact of conflict, while non government and government organisations spoke about the unbounded potential of Kashmiri crafts, peripheral respondents like people in the village and other individuals spoke about aspects of the conflict and politics. Thus not only had I received multiple views of the same scenario I had also received more information than I had set out to gather. The important point here being that there were now sub issues within the issues I had sought answers to. This helped in refining my queries to include some of these issues. The open-ended character of most questions I had asked had lead to this mass of data being gathered. Condensation of this material that would enable me to write it up would be highly time consuming. However the research questions allowed me to be selective and prevented me from being overwhelmed by the data generated.

The selective dimension of data collection worked as the starting point of data analysis. Deciding who to interview, which questions to ask, in which location and why, selecting what was important information, what should be left out, was the first step to analysing the situation (Creswell, 2003). Here I had judged the respondents employment background and loosely grouped them accordingly. Data analysis continued throughout this work till this thesis was written as the choice of what to write, in which order, what to highlight and emphasise and what aspects to interconnect also required analysis of the information I had gathered. Thus analytic choices were concurrent to research.

Repeated reading of data allowed it to be broken down into thematic codes. Patterns and themes were identified to allow data to be grouped together to allow for further analysis. Rereading of data with awareness of context and intent within the particular data segment allowed me to further isolate patterns and processes and thematically code them. I could highlight commonalities and differences and apply them to the other fieldwork visits (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I could thereby gradually tease out broad themes that could be generically applied to data groups. These could then be confronted with a formalised body of pre-existing theories that surround the themes that had been teased out. For example I could analyse women's opinion about the impact of the conflict in Kashmir and then juxtapose it with literature review findings of impact of conflict on women across the world. This system of grouping, which allows for selective focussing, simplifying and abstracting of data is known as data reduction and is seen as a continuous process in qualitative research. Grouping data allowed them to be linked at various points where connecting categories were found. For instance data generated by crafts men about impact of conflict on their incomes was linked to responses received about this issue from crafts women in ZDPM. These connecting categories allowed me to corroborate evidence generated about the impact of the conflict on the income generating abilities of crafts people. This evidence was then put within the matrix of income; poverty; unemployment and conflict to understand how these variables react and respond to each other. This has been elaborated further as a proposal, however here it highlights the methods of analysis used.

1.3.7.1 Data Coding and Discourse Analysis

Coding seemed to be a reliable option which qualitative researchers use for analysis. I chose to attach codes to segments of data without overly condensing it. This began with my writing a summary code for each section, which outlined basic information at the start. This was the contact type (according to employment background), location, contact date, name with an indication about confidentiality preference, official status of the person/ group (if applicable). This method of writing summaries has been recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994) as a useful method for qualitative data analysis. The next step of summarising included writing the main themes and issues that emerged from the data collected. Themes started to emerge, which were used for coding. Key themes that emerged were crafts, poverty, conflict, and economics, social. The subsections within these were also defined to enable me to categorise and store data. I also noted down any other key issues which struck me as interesting and could be thought out in more detail and explored at a later date. Transcribing was complicated by my reflections on the observations, these were not part of the interviews and meetings, but were issues which seemed to emerge during discussions. Including these within the transcribed was complex thus a thematic breakdown allowed me to include these observations and reflections within the relevant categories by assigning thematic codes to them.

Coding allowed me to analyse data by putting it in groups and categories and was the main method of analysis. I was at the same time keen to use the knowledge imparted through observations of spoken and unspoken actions of the respondents in the field. The repertoire of gestures, expressions, beliefs, attitudes, feelings and non-verbal behaviour had created a vast amount of notes in my fieldwork journal. It was important that I also include these within my data analysis. The method that looks at patterns of speech, such as how people talk about a particular subject, what metaphors they use, how they take turns in conversation, and so on is known as discourse analysis. Here speech is seen as a performance; it performs an action rather than describes a specific state of affairs or specific state of mind. Much of this analysis is intuitive and reflective,

and has therefore been used carefully and sparingly. Discourse analysis is therefore not the main stay method for data analysis and has been used occasionally.

Analysis of narratives that emerged from observations and interviews of crafts people in Kashmir allowed me to notice crafts people more closely. These narratives were recorded as text and talk and comprised a vital aspect of understanding crafts people of Kashmir. I was able to observe the clothes they wear, the use of body language that acknowledged hierarchy of power and also reflected on their reaction/ response to me. An example here would be the use of the headscarf in Kashmir, while working in ZDPM some women dispensed of the headscarf while in an all women environment. This subtle move, which was not verbalized or commented on in any way, indicated a silent acceptance of me within their group through disposal of formalities signified by the headscarf. While this gesture could not be coded, it was observed within fieldwork notes and imparts information about the people studied and engages directly with the cultural and political context of the respondents being observed / interviewed. An implicit form of discourse analysis was also carried out during interviews themselves, while listening to the respondent. This is continued when reflectively listening to tape recordings of the interviews for transcription. Discourse analysis allowed for deeper and more analytical thinking. It also allowed me to observe the use of vernacular Kashmiri in social settings by some people while others chose to communicate in Urdu and Hindi and yet others chose English. These languages and their usage signify social perceptions and reflect on the image people chose to project. These two methods of data analysis allowed for the creation of patterns and emergent themes. As mentioned earlier these themes were inter linked to create an understanding of the data that has been gathered.

1.3.7.2 Emergent themes

Crafts included looking at process, history, tradition, skills, raw materials, training, infrastructural support, lack of marketing and poverty due to decline in sales, safety in working indoors.

Conflict was an aspect that everyone spoke about, thus it was segregated into safety, suspicion, war weariness, depletion of support structures, living in a battle zone, self

determination for Kashmir, politics of India and Pakistan, history of the conflict, political future of Kashmir, impact of conflict on Kashmiris in terms of death, migration, disappearances.

Poverty was a word that came out in many conversations thus the dimensions of poverty lead to emergence of key words like terrorism, militancy, tourism and sales, importance of safety, crime and militancy and its lure for poverty elimination, impoverishment of women and children.

Economics included aspects of conflict economics, benefits and losses of conflict, the changes in tourism, lack of development, rising unemployment.

Social issues that emerged were about breakdown of community trust and relationships, migration based on communal differences, changes that have occurred in Kashmiri society since 1987, shifts in sex ratio and the role of Islam.

Culture included aspects of identity and religion. This includes shared traditions and rituals, which consist of the usage of crafts and handmade goods within the daily lives of the Kashmiri people.

Women as a social group who are active within the craft working community form yet another thematic group. This includes issues of impact of conflict on women and the role women play as stakeholders in post conflict economies.

These themes were linked to codes and this linkage is reflected in the layout of the chapters in this thesis. The codes allowed me to thematically group fieldwork notes and also provided the structure around which further literature reviews could be conducted. The codes are also linked to the various aspects of the research question. Use of alpha numeric coding was decided against as I believed that the codes would over a period of time become either more conceptually inclusive or more differentiated, varying alpha numeric codes would then mean revising and rewriting all the codes again. The codes were relatively simple and semantically close to the terms they represent, preventing confusion and allowing for diversification if needed. This led to further analysis wherein the list of the themes was teased out to ask new questions. The following table (Fig 1.1) was created which lists out the emergent themes and identifies the directions for further questioning.

Figure 1.1 Assimilating data and planning further research

Thematic codes	What is known	What needs to be known	Chapter reference
CRAFTS	Crafts are important to Kashmiri people	Why? What is the history behind craft making in Kashmir and how does it inform the current situation?	Chapters 4, 5, 6
	Crafts are currently being made in Kashmir	How many people are involved within crafts in Kashmir? How have the labour patterns in this sector changed? Has conflict inadvertently promoted the popularity of craft for Kashmiris?	
	Crafts men spoke about crafts suffering from lack of support.	What mechanisms exist in Kashmir to support crafts? What help do these craftspeople need to promote crafts?	
CONFLICT	Conflict has impacted Kashmiri society.	How many deaths/ injuries/ missing/ displaced people? What are the changes in the sex ratio? What are the means of income generation for people living in a post conflict situation? Migration of people and business, was this beneficial in any way?	Chapters 3, 5
	Long-standing, unresolved nature of conflict.	Details of the conflict-historical? What is the conflict about? What are the pathways to resolution? What theories are there around the area of conflict?	
	Kashmir is a post conflict zone.	What are the aspects of Kashmiri typify it as a post conflict zone? How do other post conflict zones function? What are the areas of priority within post conflict area's development? What are the pitfalls?	
POVERTY	Conflict caused poverty.	Is this unique to Kashmir? In what way is this evident? What are the theoretical links between	Chapter 5

		conflict and poverty? Is economic reconstruction an important element of post conflict development?	
CULTURE	Kashmiris are proud of their culture. Crafts are an important part of this culture.	Are their links between culture and development? Could promotion of one lead to development of the other? What theories exist in this area of thinking?	Chapters 2, 6
WOMEN	The sex ratio has changed. There are many widows, half widows and destitute women.	What do these women do? How has the conflict impacted them? Are there new roles that they play in this post conflict scenario?	Chapters 5, 6
ECONOMICS	The economy of Kashmir has changed as a result of the conflict.	How has the economy changed in the post conflict scenario? Are there benefits from the conflict? Is there evidence of lack of development? What is the status of unemployment? What role do crafts play in the current economy?	Chapter 5, 6
SOCIAL ISSUES	Kashmiri society has been impacted by the conflict.	Have community trust and relationships changed in Kashmir? How has conflict migration impacted the society? Has there been a change in social composition in terms of sex ratio? What role does Islam play in Kashmiri society?	Chapter 2, 3, 6
KEYWORDS	Kashmiri crafts, crafts in conflict, socio economic status of Kashmir, post conflict Kashmir, current status of Kashmiri crafts, Kashmiri politics, the conflict in Kashmir, crafts of Kashmir 1987, Kashmir from 1987-2005, craftsmen of Kashmir, craftswomen in Kashmir, identity of Kashmir, post conflict reconstruction, conflict, poverty, unemployment, corruption, financial aid, development, impact of conflict on women, culture and development, post conflict reconstruction, conflict and unemployment, nature of conflicts, income generation in post conflict zones, culturally relevant work, promotion of development, identity, Islam, Muslim women, craft training, design training, local economic development		

1.4 Theoretical Framework and Research Proposition

Themes that have emerged through data analysis as well as literature reviews have enabled the development of the proposition. The research explored the linkages between conflict, poverty and unemployment as well as culture and development. These theoretical models were studied individually to establish linkages, which have been developed into a research proposition.

Models of conflict and poverty were studied in works of Justino (2006), which explores the links between violent conflict and chronic poverty in Rwanda. Works of Ibanez and Moya (2006) in Colombia analyses the impact of conflict on economy and studies the loss of assets and income-generating abilities of people living in post conflict Colombia. Kusago's work (2005) in Timor Leste looks at the post conflict economy of the region and establishes the need for pro-poor development through provision of livelihoods as a way to decrease violence. This work also establishes links between income and peace through study of the post conflict economies of Eritrea and El Salvador. Works of Fisher et al. (2000) analyzes critical issues within conflict that include poverty. Reports from the United Nations Bureau of Conflict Prevention and Recovery (UNBCPR) that was established to promote peace through reconstruction have also been studied. Though these works are not directly transferable to Kashmir, they establish causal links between conflict and poverty through observation of other conflict areas.

Conflict and unemployment were studied in works of Date-Bah (ed.) (2003), which explores the challenges unemployment poses to the establishment of sustainable peace in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Gautemala, Lebanon and Mozambique. Ohiorhenuan and Kumar's work (2005) explores the importance of employment in post conflict economies. Gasser et al. (2005) further establish that post conflict economic development should include promotion of culturally valued activities for income generation. Cater (2002) analyzes the post conflict economy of Sierra Leone and states the need for capacity building to promote peace. Maresko (2004) analyses the impact of the conflict on the economy of Liberia. These works establish the importance of economic development in post conflict areas and propose employment as a vital

component of reconstruction and sustainable peace. These works highlight the importance of employment to post conflict areas.

The theoretical links between culture and development were studied in publications of United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation –UNESCO (1995), Watkins (2001), Sen (1996), Ripon and Willow (2004), Wroe and Doney (2004) and De Cuellar⁶ (1996). These works reveal that the promotion of culturally relevant activities often leads to sustainable development of regions. These works indicate that the pursuit of activities, which are of cultural value to local people, often allows them to generate sustainable incomes. These works are theoretical in nature and apart from that of Ripon and Willow (2001) which is based on Sierra Leone, consist of exploring and establishing theoretical linkages between culture and development.

Research also included study of pre-existing theories that explore the impact of conflict on women and the role of women in post conflict reconstruction. Here Bruns's work (2005) about the impact of conflict on women in Sri Lanka was studied. Also included was work of Thiruchandran (2001) about female household heads in post conflict Eastern Sri Lanka. The overlooking of women in planning of development and reconstruction was studied in works of Palmberg (2005) that is based in Afghanistan. Study of women in Afghanistan was also done by Wali et al. (1999) that explored the impact of conflict on them. Moser and Clark's work (2001) that is based on women of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Peru indicates that the gendered element of reconstruction is often ignored by development agencies. Conaway (2006) analyses the role women play in reconstruction and the ways in which the conflict impacts them. This work cites examples from Rwanda, Sierra Leone, El Salvador and East Timor. While Brown et al. (2005) analysed the changed role of women in Indonesia, where in they have become the main income earners for their families. Yesufu (2000) establishes that women need to be included in post conflict development as equals to allow for sustainable peace and development to be established. The work of Date-Bah (ed.) (2003) examines closely the impact of conflict on women, and the changes in the roles they play in post conflict regions. These works were yet again not always directly

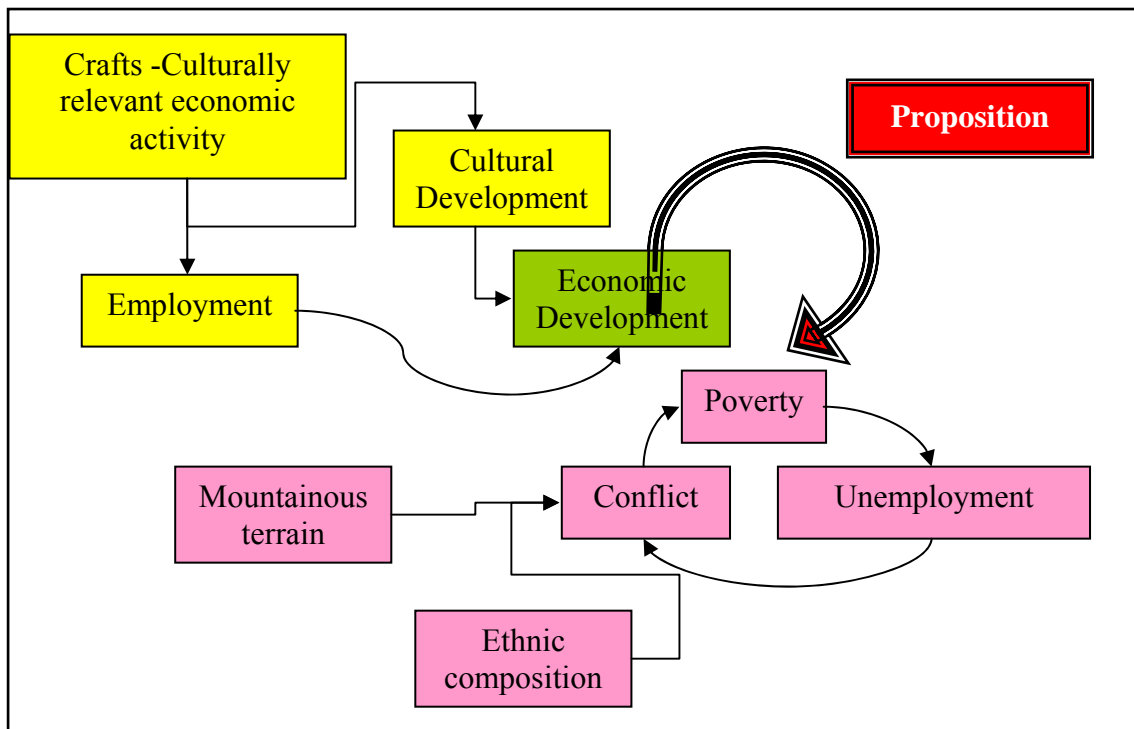
⁶ Secretary General of the United Nations between 1982-1991

transferable to Kashmir, though they allowed for pre-existing theories to be studied in relation to Kashmir. Work of Hans (2000) was found to be directly related to Kashmir, wherein the changing nature of Islam in Kashmir has been explored. These works revealed that women in post conflict areas are impacted severely by conflicts and devise varied mechanisms to rebuild their lives. Promotion of income generating activities for women in post conflict regions, wherein they are included as stakeholders in the reconstruction, is indicated here as an essential prerequisite for post conflict development of regions.

The study of this literature allowed for the development of linkages that have been developed into a proposition. In Kashmir income generation through culturally relevant craft activities could lead to poverty alleviation and perhaps also in the long run the reconstruction of a conflict worn state and economy. Women's engagement within this culturally relevant sector would allow them to generate income, which could further promote reconstruction.

The research proposes linkages between conflict, poverty, unemployment and culture and development. Therefore the research sets out to examine the role development of cultural activities, which were of value to a community, could play in promoting economic development. This could possibly in turn indicate that the promotion of culturally relevant economic activity, such as crafts development, could lead to the promotion of peace. This proposition (Fig 1.2) was worked out on the basis of conjectures and was not an existing theory or even a paradigm, thus I was not seeking to confirm a theory. However exploring links through studying the existing literature in these areas as well as closer and more focused study in Kashmir could possibly give further clarity to this proposition. This thesis builds on this proposition in its various chapters.

Figure 1.2 Emergent themes and their links within the proposal



1.5 Other aspects of Research

During fieldwork (2003-2006) the singularity/ monopoly of my work struck me. I had so far defined the problem, undertaken sampling, gathered information, reduced it, analysed it, interpreted it and documented it as a thesis. This work was intensive in nature, and the ability of this work to make me self reflect was not an element, which I had predicted. My identity and the positive role it played within my accessing people and data had not been foreseen by me. This aspect of identity is covered in chapter two. There was awareness that working in a conflict zone would have its own complications and unforeseen dimensions, which I could not predict before setting out into the field. Though these are not negative aspects of the work, they did form complications to the way I thought, saw and understood things. My unpreparedness for the onslaught of emotional outpouring was one of these elements. People everywhere spoke about the conflict, everyone I met knew someone who had lost a close relative in the conflict. The

emotional and psychological aspect of this work is part of the findings, in suppressing and negating it; I would be misconstruing an important dimension of this research.

1.6 The Codes of Ethics

Academic guidelines that consist of ethical codes for conducting research informed me about the responsibility I had towards conducting research. Work done by researchers such as Heller (1988, 1990, 1996, and 1999) and Gilligan, Ward, and Taylor (1988) on ethics and their importance were studied for guidance. Ethics were also studied in works of Christian (2005). Guidance about ethical concerns within qualitative research was found in works of Miles and Huberman (1994) and Creswell (2003).⁷

The principles followed in this research are of informed consent, where in all individuals who participated in this research were informed about the nature and consequences of this research. There was no element of deception involved as I believed that deception would not be ethically justifiable or practically necessary. I was keen to keep my travels within Kashmir inconspicuous as well as quiet so as to avoid being noticed as an outsider making inquiries within the city, this meant there was omission of information not directly relevant to participants e.g. which flight I was booked on, or where my parents lived etc. However this did not mean that the people I interacted with were misinformed or deceived in any possible way.

Privacy and confidentiality were the main ethical principles that were constantly observed during this work. Some references to people and geographic locations have been classified as confidential and anonymity has been maintained where requested by the contributors and participants in this research to protect identities. This need to respect the anonymity of sources is reinforced by the aim of drawing upon this research in the future for subsequent work in Kashmir. The other ethical principle encapsulated

⁷ For further reading on ethics see, Benhabib, S. (1992). *Situating the self: Gender, community and postmodernism in contemporary ethics*. Cambridge, UK, Polity. See also Christians, C.G and Traber, M. (Eds). (1997) *Communication ethics and universal values* (pp3-23), Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

in this work was of accuracy of data. Fabrications, fraudulent materials or omissions and contrivances have not occurred in any part of this research.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on the methodological issues surrounding the research and looked at how data was selected, gathered and analysed in order to answer the research question. This chapter aimed at providing justifications and explanations of structure and content of this research. It also explained the decisions made for using certain approaches as main stays while using other peripheral methods to make the study and its emergent data more useful, reliable and valid.

It has not been possible to contextualise each dimension of methodology with the data found in the field within this chapter. In the chapters that follow, data has been analysed and presented using the methods mentioned here. Qualitative methods tend to make a study more discursive and descriptive, this has been considered and an attempt has been made to make this work more analytical as far as possible. The voices within the thesis, as identified by Van Mannen (1988) vary from being realist, confessional and impressionist. Attempt has been made to be direct, yet personal, objective yet reflexive and speak directly to the reader. The chapters that follow draw on the methodology stated here and elaborates on aspects of it in individual chapters. Whilst repetition has been avoided, cross-referencing and overlaps have been deliberately inserted to further explain and highlight the research approach taken and the reasons for it. This is also for reasons of continuity and clarity. However detailed presentation of data, analysis, interpretation and validation are contained within each chapter that follows.

Chapter 2 – Situating Kashmir

This chapter situates Kashmir by defining the geographic boundaries of the state and identifying the region that has been studied in this research. It looks at the role geography plays in Kashmir's pre conflict economy⁸. It also looks issues of identity, which are partly defined by this geography, and the links of this identity to crafts. These issues act as the starting point from which answers to the research questions shall be built. This chapter comprises of three sections: geography, economy, and social identity. It does not include politics, as it is believed that the complexities of conflict and its impact need to be understood in further depth to answer the research question more comprehensively and this is therefore present in chapter three.

This chapter includes primary data gathered from fieldwork (2003-2006) interviews and also contains secondary data collected from literature reviews. Therefore works of Younghusband (1996), Vigne (1844) and Gervis (1954) have been included; these are rich travelogues that note detailed information about Kashmir. Geographical research done by Cater (2002) and cultural maps developed by Johnson (1996) have also been included here to shed light on Kashmir's geography. Issues of craft and identity have been studied in the works of Quraishi (2004) and Zutshi (2003), while statistics have been studied in various government publications. These texts were useful in understanding Kashmir's geography, identity and its economy. Here economy has been looked at from the pre-conflict period to allow post conflict research and comparisons to be drawn in later chapters. My identity as the field worker has been reflected upon in this chapter for two reasons, firstly to show the role it played in gathering data and secondly to provide the perspective from which this work has been undertaken.

⁸ Conflict period 1989-2003. See chapter Five.

2.1 Geography

Kashmir is one of the three regions that comprise Jammu and Kashmir State, which is the north most State of India (Fig 2.1). The other two regions being Jammu and Ladakh, neither of these regions have been included in this research and work focuses only on the Kashmir valley. The valley of Kashmir lies to the north of New Delhi, between the Pir Panjaal and Karakoram mountain ranges of the Himalayas in Fig 2.1 it is marked as the 'vale of Kashmir'. In this work, the term "Kashmir" refers to the valley, which includes the towns and villages along the Jhelum River, from Handwara and surrounding towns in the northwest to Anantnag in the southeast. Most of the fieldwork (2003-2006) for this thesis has been based in district Srinagar, the capital of the State, which is also known as the 'Valley'. Peripheral trips to the regions that surround Srinagar were made to gain further understanding of the region; however respondents for research were interacted with only in Srinagar. This region has easier access and is relatively safer than the remote areas of Kashmir. This area forms the hub of craft making activities in Kashmir. This research does not include the region of *Azad* (Free Kashmir) that is under Pakistan's administration.

Mountain ranges encircle the valley (Fig 2.2). The Karakoram and Kunlun range to the north and northeast The Zaskar range separates Kashmir from the Indus plain; the NunKun range separates Kashmir from Ladakh. The Pir Panjal range separates Kashmir from the outer Himalayas and includes within it the famous Banihal pass (2832 metres) that comprises of the Jawahar tunnel that connects Kashmir valley to other parts of the Jammu region. Average height of the valley is 1850 metres above sea level but the surrounding mountains, which are always snow-clad, rise from three to four thousand metres above sea level (Raina, 1971). Numerous mountain ranges that surround Kashmir create the unique remoteness that characterizes Kashmir and allows it to remain isolated from its immediate neighbours. It is significant to notice this, as conflict within this region and the eruption of violence is limited to within the confines of the State due to the mountains around it. This violence therefore had the ability to impact the residents of the valley without spilling into neighbouring regions, creating further isolation.

Figure 2.1 Disputed Territory of Kashmir, 2003



Figure 2.2 Map of Kashmir and Jammu depicting physical features of the region, 1912

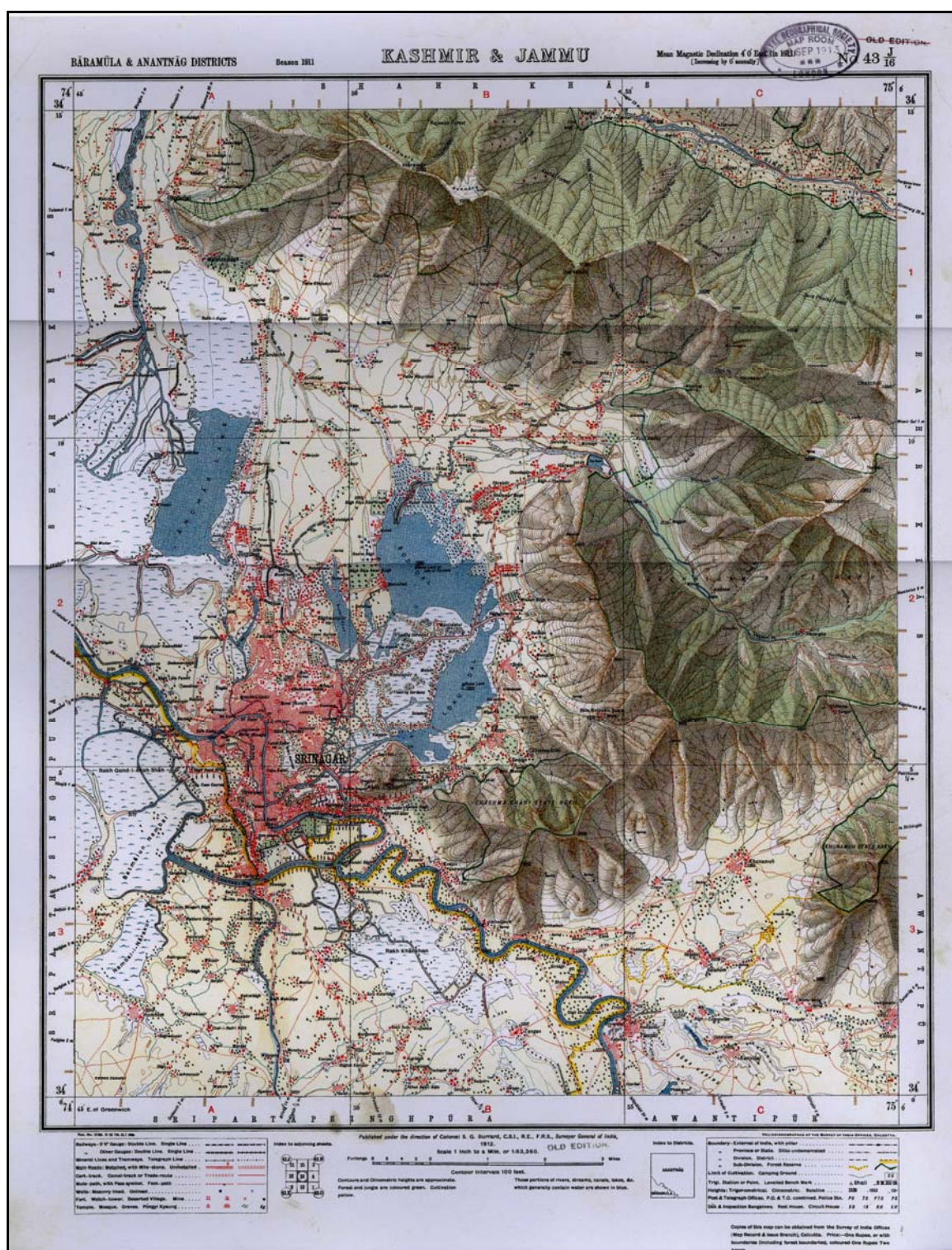
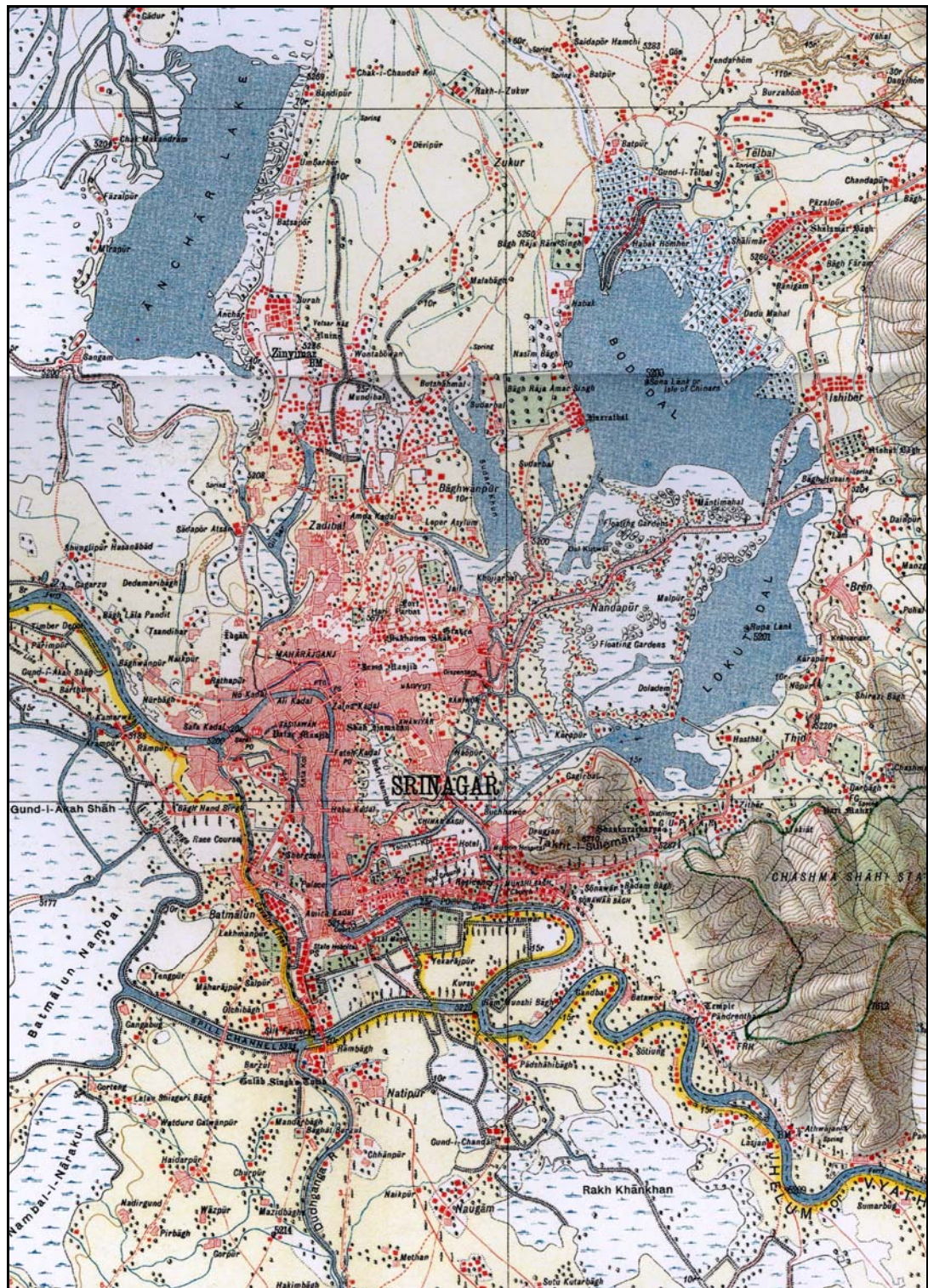


Figure 2.3 Physical map of Srinagar, Kashmir, 1912



2.1.1 Geo-politic Significance of Kashmir

The Himalayan Mountains that surround the valley of Kashmir are one of the highest mountain ranges in the world. Kashmir is connected to the Indian plains to the south, by the Jawahar Tunnel that is the lifeline of the region, bringing in supplies of food, clothing, as well as human resource to the valley. Due to the mountainous terrain; access to the valley is severely limited to few mountain passes. There is an on going attempt to build a railway link to Srinagar through the mountains, which is being constructed by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the Government of India. At present Kashmir has a domestic airport and an international airport is currently being built. Both these are susceptible to extreme winters and are known to shut down for weeks during snowfalls between December – February.

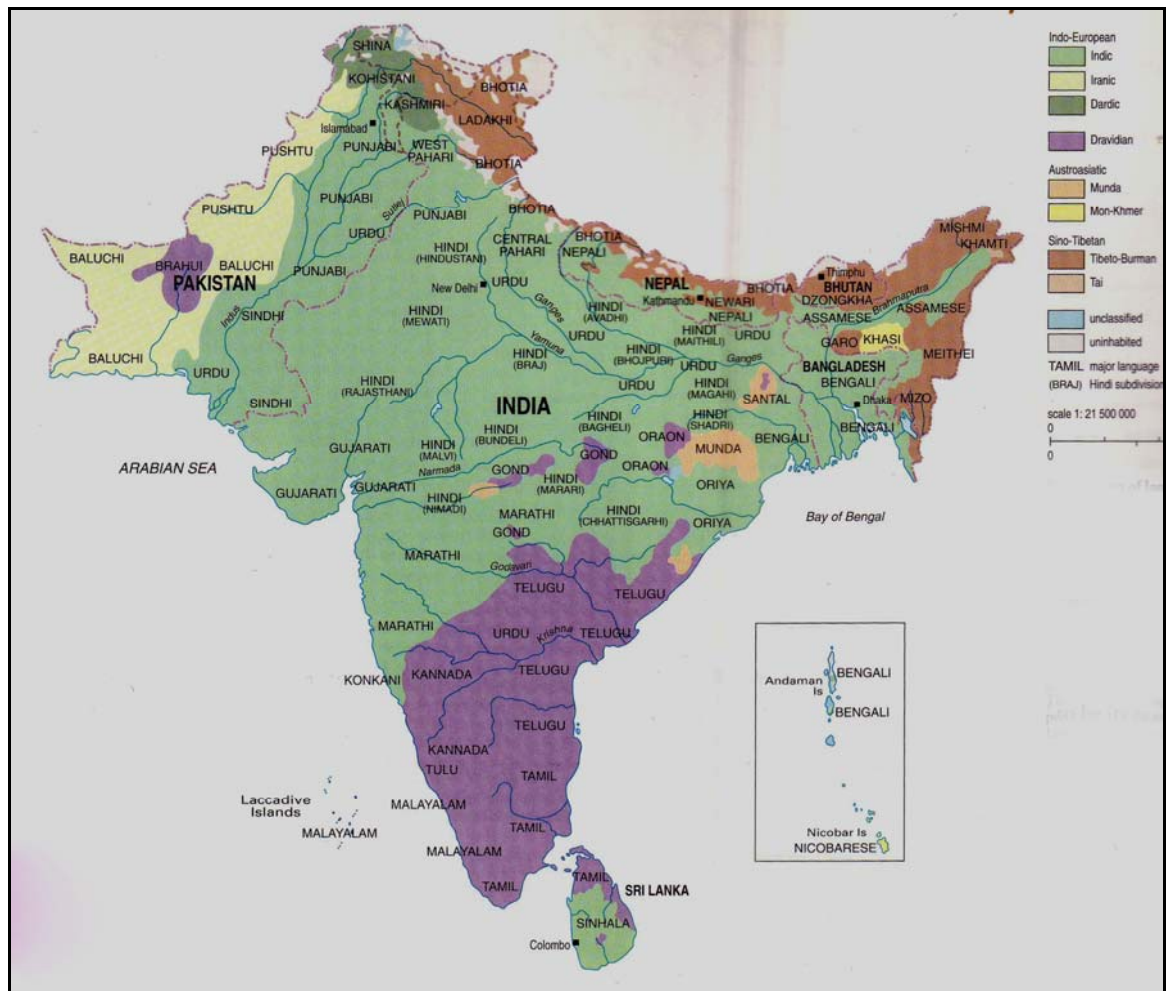
Surrounded by high mountains, the people of Kashmir seem remote and cut off from the rest of India. News from India seems distant when living and working in a remote mountain village. This remoteness and relative limitation of further travels dictated by weather has encouraged the development of a culture, which is unique and has little in common with the rest of India. The language spoken in Kashmir (see Fig 2.4), is quite different from those in rest of India, which from personal experience one could say are relatively easy to decipher if one has basic knowledge of Hindi. Even Dogri, spoken in Jammu, has similarities to the Punjabi dialect. Kashmiri however has similarities to Persian, which makes it hard for Kashmiri's to be understood outside their valley⁹. Kashmiris live in relative isolation, therefore there exist pockets of people who do not speak or understand Hindi¹⁰, who have a distinctive dress and spoke about being physically unable to bear the high temperatures of the Indian plains. The differences between them and the people outside Kashmir come to the fore when the two meet. I observed Kashmiris sharing laughter over a story of a tourist who came to Kashmir and did not know how to walk in the snow. I also observed people in Delhi making fun of the Kashmiri carpet salesmen who speak Hindi with difficulty and have accents in English and Hindi, which are hard to understand. Their appearance and attire further

⁹ This was evidenced in personal conversations with people from Jammu as well as Persian (Iranian) colleagues.

¹⁰ National language of India

distinguishes them from the local residents of Delhi. Isolation here could be seen negatively as it creates communal and regional divisions; it also promotes alienation for people living in remote locations.

Figure 2.4 Distribution of Languages in India to indicate extent of usage of the Kashmiri language



However isolation can also be seen positively as it promotes culture and defines identity. Kashmir's geography influences folklore, traditions and practices that have evolved from many centuries of living near mountains and water bodies. The geography and isolation also perhaps contribute to the reasons why crafts originated, flourished and continue to be practiced here. Its location on the trade routes from Turkestan and Tibet ensured a steady supply of raw material and access to markets, its isolation enabled accumulation of skills within a small region with few opportunities for migration of

labour due to limitation on transport from the valley (Gillow and Barnard, 1993). The geography of Kashmir imparts it scenic beauty with lakes, wildlife and a wide variety of flora, this is known to have augmented the creativity of the craft workers who made exclusive shawls. The beauty of this land is such that the Mughal Emperor, Jehangir (1605-1628) is famously quoted about his description of Kashmir, "Agar firdaus bar ru-e zamin ast, Hami ast o-hami ast o-hami ast" or 'If there is paradise on Earth, It is this, it is this, it is this' (Chadha, 2005, p.35). Climactic conditions in Kashmir also make raw materials for craft production readily available to the people who produce crafts.

In the recent post conflict years, isolation has intensified due to the political dilemma faced by the Kashmiris. There are several points of disagreement that appear when the Kashmiris undertake a dialogue with the people outside the valley. These are to do with their ethnicity and religious beliefs, as Kashmir is the only State with a majority Muslim population in India; this adds to the isolation of the Kashmiris.

2.1.2 Climate and its Impact

Kashmir valley has four distinct seasons of winter, spring, summer and autumn. Kashmiri folklore contains songs and proverbs about each season and a vast amount of poetry exists around the climate of Kashmir. Spring last from March to May, summer is from May to August and autumn lasts till October when the winter begins, and temperatures dip to 10 degrees at this time of the year. October to March is winter, which is nearly six months of extreme winter.

Winters in Kashmir are harsh and each change of intensity of coldness has a name in Kashmiri language¹¹. Kashmir sees heavy snowfall and drop in temperatures; lakes and water bodies are known to freeze during this time of the year. Snowfall disrupts normal life due to a breakdown of transport and communications systems. Wood and petroleum based fuels are used for heating and the architectural design of houses have been adapted to promote central heating systems. The need for warmth in the winters has

¹¹ There is a baby chill at the start of winter, a grown man's chill in the peak of winter and the old man's chill as winter gives way to autumn

been the reason for the development of the handmade goods like the *Kangri* (Fig 2.7) and the *Pheran* (Fig 2.10). The various shawls that are produced in Kashmir, which are studied in this work also meet the need for warmth. These handmade products have evolved in response to the climatic needs of the region, they continue to be used in Kashmir today, and the significance of this has been discussed in chapter four.

The severity of the winter disrupts electricity and water supplies and people rely on wood burning for cooking and keeping warm. This was experienced at first hand during fieldwork in January 2003 when I was unable to move out of the house or go back to Delhi by any means of transport for nearly a week. There was no electricity, no telephone and no transport available. This leaves the State and the economy vulnerable. The extremity of winter and the disruption caused by it is also noted by the State Government of Kashmir, which moves its operations and administration during the winter months to the city of Jammu and then moves back to Srinagar (Kashmir) in the spring months. The British government in India also previously followed this movement of the bureaucracy to cooler locations in the summer and warmer locations in the winter.

Winter impacts infrastructure and causes disruption of trade and working patterns. Similar disruptions were noted in Timor Leste where the Timorese found it difficult to trade in goods and services due to poor infrastructure (Kusago, 2005). This is comparable to Kashmir where a lack of safe means of transport in Kashmir, especially in the winter, is seen as a major problem as it limits access to markets and availability of local materials. Kashmiri craft workers were seen to be working in candlelight as well as light from Kerosene lamps, which caused fire hazards as well as generated pollution within the confines of the workshops. They have limited access to transport in the snow and are often physically confined to their workshops and homes during winter. Critical analysis would indicate this to be beneficial in some ways as it allows crafts people to work for longer durations of time on craft work and allows them to accumulate capital through craft production. However the fact remains that there is a distinction between working on crafts out of choice and being able to sell them to buyers when money is

needed. Respondents indicated that they often had to subsist on minimum supplies of income during the winter due to their inability to reach the businessmen or middlemen. Critical analysis would lead one to believe that the conflict could have exacerbated the hardship that winter brings; however development of the region prior to the conflict should have resolved infrastructural problems caused by the winter. This question was put forth to respondents in Srinagar, where they were asked if infrastructure of the state withstood the harsh winters better in the pre-conflict period. Respondents indicated that the State has always faced electricity and water shortages in winter in fact people now seemed to expect the phone cables to not work for several months due to heavy snow. This could indicate a lack of development of the region from before the conflict. This lack of development is acknowledged in a government report on Kashmir that states that the geographical and topographical conditions of the state hamper industrial growth in region and therefore there is a lack of heavy and large industries in the region (Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir, 2006). This is important to note as it indicates a lack of development caused by its geography, prior to the conflict, which could mean that conflict and diversion of State resources to maintain security and peace could have possibly worsened this lack of development. This leads to the question – is Kashmir underdeveloped because of its mountainous terrain? Matches for geographical territory to understand development were sought to draw comparisons and contrasts.

A close match of lack of development in Kashmir owing to its geography was found in the North Indian mountainous State of Uttar Pradesh. Uttar Pradesh was divided into two states, separating the mountainous areas from the plains and a new State was born in 2000, originally called Uttarakhand, it is now known as Uttaranchal¹². This State was created by public outcry about the lack of development in the mountainous regions, depletion of natural resources, neglect and depravity that led to sporadic militant activity. This led them to demand that a new State be formed from the mountainous regions alone, with a local capital city, allowing for closer focus on locally relevant activities. A senior Indian bureaucrat¹³, who had worked as an Uttar Pradesh cadre officer in the (IAS) Indian Administrative Service, spoke about this distinction between

¹² See Thapliyal, U.P (2005) *Uttaranchal: Historical and cultural perspectives*, New Delhi, B.R. Publications. See also Handa, O.C (2002) *History of Uttaranchal*, New Delhi, Indus Publication

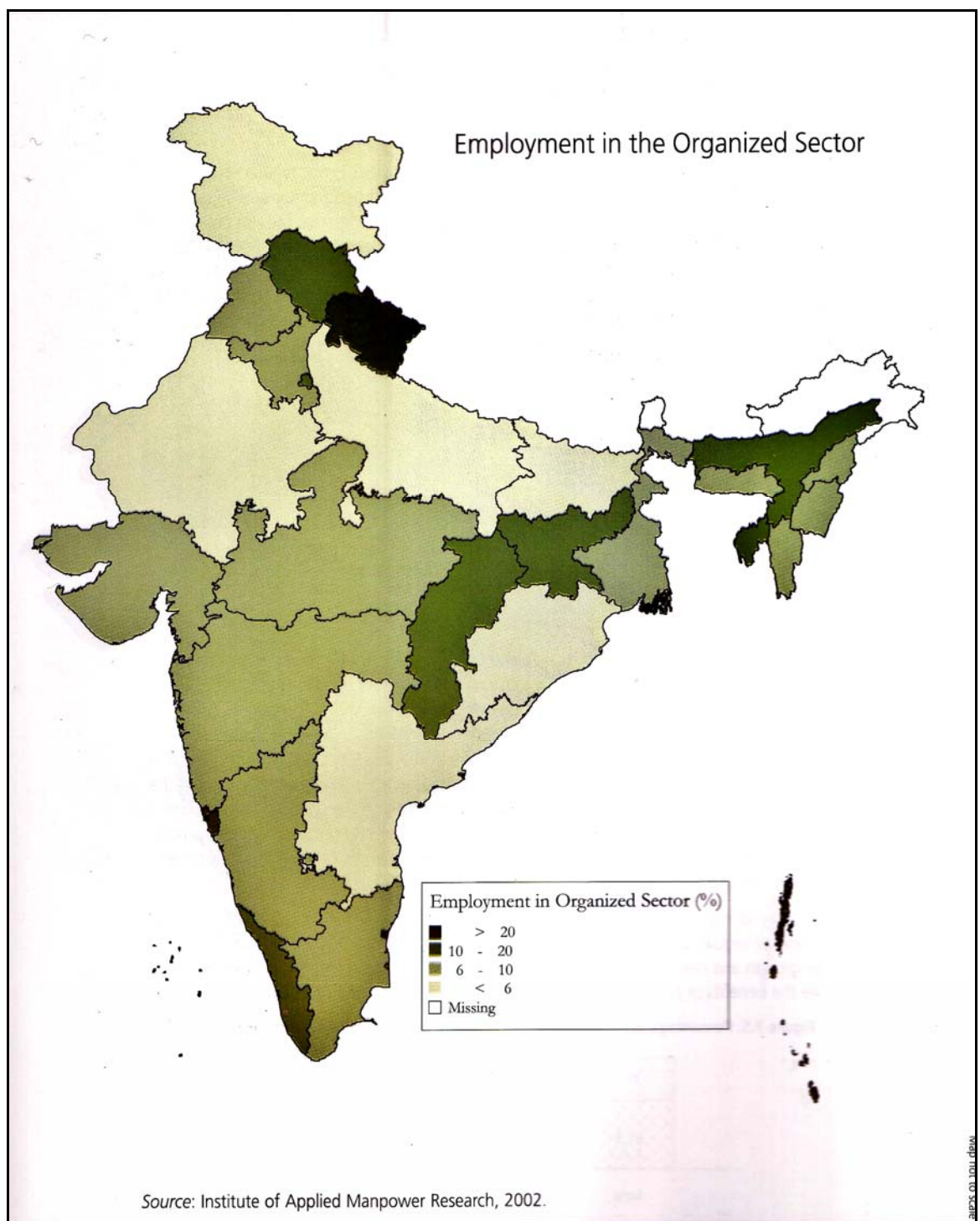
¹³ Personal communication with Mr. R.K. Dar (IAS) Retd, NOIDA, 2003.

the needs of the people who live in the plains, versus those of mountain people. He spoke about the causal relation between climate and the needs of the people. This relationship, which he spoke about in reference to Uttar Pradesh is perhaps applicable to Kashmir too, where the extreme winters and the slow down in the economy due to snowfall and lack of activity, makes it important for income and revenue generation to be accelerated in the other non winter seasons. It is also important to note that the winter in Kashmir brings with it problems of health, safety, transport and communication which are integral aspects of development. Whilst Uttaranchal and Kashmir share geographical similarities, it is beyond the remit of the thesis to discuss these at length here. This work focuses on post conflict Kashmir and Uttaranchal here has been used as an illustrative example to illuminate the potential for development in mountain States.

2.2 Economy

This section looks at the economy of Kashmir. This section attempts to highlight the nature of Kashmir's economy. As mentioned before, this allows for comparisons to be drawn in later chapters. There are only a small number of medium industries in the State. The bulk of industrial activity is in what the government calls the small scale unorganized sectors such as horticulture, agriculture, cattle rearing, tourism and crafts. Few Kashmiris are employed within the very limited organized sector in Kashmir and this is depicted in Fig 2.5.

Figure 2.5 Employment in India in the organized sector, 2002



2.2.1 Agriculture, Horticulture and Livestock Rearing

Large amount of agriculture is undertaken in Kashmir, which is the main source of livelihood in the rural parts of Srinagar. Rice, wheat, maize, tobacco, saffron, pulses, rape seed are all grown in Kashmir (Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir, 2006). Horticulture is a focal point within the valley and fruits have been known to be cultivated in Kashmir for many years (Raina, 1971). Fruits grown include apples, pears, cherries, plums, grapes, pomegranates, mulberry, peaches, apricots, walnuts and almonds. These are for local consumption and also export. Supply of machinery, equipment, seeds, fertilizers and technical advice to the orchard owners by the State Govt. free of charge has greatly helped fruit cultivation over the past few years.

Livestock rearing is an important occupation in Kashmir, especially for the migratory population. The district of Srinagar accounts for 281,000 livestock heads out of a total of 9.1 millions livestock heads as per the livestock census of 1997 (Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir, 2006). The small scale industries in Kashmir have been listed in the statistical handbook of 2006; these include food products, beverages, hosiery and garments, wood products, paper products, leather products, non metallic mineral products, metal products, electric and machinery apparatus, rubber and plastic products, chemical products and the industry of repairing and servicing. According to this statistical handbook, Srinagar had 1170 small-scale industry units in 2005-06.

2.2.2 The Tourism Economy

The other important component of the economy is the tourism sector. Tourism is directly connected to the crafts that are made in Kashmir and is therefore discussed in more detail. It has generated large revenue for the State for many years. Though government records often begin at 1975, courtiers in the Mughal period also document travels of the rulers of India to the region over the summer season. Travelogues mentioned earlier on also reveal the presence of tourist in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was also the preferred destination for English families who had spent time

in the Valley during days of the British *Raj*, when many British troops were posted in Kashmir. Many tourists came to look at the place which a Mughal emperor described as Paradise. Domestic tourists from India escaping the heat of the Indian summer came to Kashmir. Foreign tourists from across the world came to Kashmir, to travel, to ski, to see the Himalayas and also sometimes to escape the heat of the Indian summer. The tourist market in Kashmir had a wide cross section of people.

Statistics from the Department for Information and Public Relations, Government of Jammu and Kashmir reveal that between 1975 and 1988 an average of 507,474 (domestic and foreign) tourists visited Kashmir annually (Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir, 2007). In 1988 the tourist numbers peaked at with 722,035 visiting Kashmir. The violence that erupted in 1988-89 had a devastating effect on Kashmir. The tourism industry, which brought in high revenues into Kashmir, was severely affected. In 1990 the number of tourists decreased by more than half. In 1989, 55,794 tourists visited Kashmir. This dwindled to 10,722 in 1990 and to 6,287 in 1991 (Govt. of India, 2003)¹⁴.

These numbers signify the relevance that tourism had for the economy of Kashmir. A large number of people flocking to the city of Srinagar and then travelling around the State meant that the infrastructure of the State expanded to accommodate these increasing numbers. The tourism industry brought with it development of supporting industries and jobs with it. Thus there were a large number of hotels, guest houses, house boats, places to eat, various modes of transport such as bicycles, taxis, *shikaaras* (narrow covered canoe boats) available for rent or hire. Trade in cultural goods increased and Kashmiri crafts were at the forefront in this. Tourists brought curios as

¹⁴ Statistics mentioned here were made available through personal contacts within the bureaucracy as mentioned in the methodology chapter. Some published books about the economy in Kashmir have also been referred to here. Critical analysis of these books and government of India publications reveal a mismatch in the data available. Statistics do not match, despite the census being used for the basis of most of this research. This mismatch in data leads to the question about the veracity of these statistics. Validation of data was sought through matching information gathered from various sources. Sources alternative to those that have been originated by the Government of India do not provide further references of where the data they have published has been gathered from. This causes complications in collating data. From an analytical perspective this means that one set of data is incorrect, verifying which was difficult. While efforts have been made to compare and contrast and provide both sets of data as far as possible, this thesis relies on those provided by the Government, despite possibility of these being doctored.

well as expensive goods such as Pashmina shawls, silk carpets, Shahtoosh scarves. This market for hand made goods encouraged the crafts of Kashmir to develop and evolve into a larger industry. Siraj (1997) mentions this tourist trade as a deluge. He reveals that the abundance of tourists was so overwhelming at times food supplies in the city of Srinagar were depleted. The attics in the city that were normally inhabited by domestic cats were converted to accommodate the visiting people. He goes on to say that many beggars from the rest of the country came to Kashmir to escape the heat and to make extra money. Thus the economy of the State was geared towards tourism, which is evident by the number of hotels and guesthouses that can still be seen in Srinagar.

The Indian film industry produced many films based in Kashmir in the 1970's and 80's (Kabir, 2005). A whole spate of romantic movies set in the locales of Kashmir's valleys and mountains were released during this period. Film stars and tourists flocked to Kashmir; part taking in promoting the prosperous economy that relied heavily for revenue on the tourist market. Kashmir at this time was also the favoured holiday destination for the emerging upper middle class. This highlights the importance of tourism and reflects on the prosperity brought by the sector. This was severely impacted by the conflict in the region and shall be discussed in subsequent chapters.

2.2.3 The Handicrafts Economy

As craft in the western world merges increasingly with the art world, morphing into the new discipline of "design-crafts", in India as in much of the developing world, craft remains close to its original function, providing hand-made functional objects and plays an important role in regional and national economies. India is contributing to a growing global crafts market. A seminal analysis report on the craft producers of India developed by the Policy Science Centre, Stony Creek, USA, estimated that there are about 9 million craft workers in India, both full and part time. Indian crafts account for 20-25% of the manufacturing work force, and contribute to 8% of the GDP in manufacturing (Liebl and Roy, 2000). Interestingly according to the report Jammu and Kashmir produces the highest number of major crafts in India (major crafts being produced in

one State). This is significant to note as it reflects on the presence of crafts as a major source of income and employment in the pre conflict period.

During fieldwork (2004) I was told anecdotes about the ‘peak season’ when the businessmen had to turn people away from the doors of the shop due to lack of time to cater to them. Some people mentioned the fact that tourist markets kept them busy through the winter months in preparation for the deluge in the summer. Thus papier-mâché, Pashmina shawls, wooden carving and crewelwork were made laboriously through the cold winter months, ready to be sold in the summer. Crafts during this period of time contributed substantially towards the State economy.

The crafts sector in Kashmir was the largest employer of artisans, contributing to 6% of the total handicraft employment of the country in 1987-88 (Leibl and Roy, 2000). Of all the revenue earning sectors the handicrafts sector in Kashmir was one of the main earners of the state, next only to tourism in terms of income generated, people employed and exports earnings. In 1988-89 the handicrafts from Jammu and Kashmir contributed to 14% of all Handicrafts exported from India (Liebl and Roy, 2000).

This illustrates the importance of craft trade and highlights the well-established mechanisms for craft making that existed in pre-conflict Kashmir. It stresses the importance of income and employment that this area generates in reference to Kashmir. This creates understanding of the reasons why this sector continues to be a popular source of employment for many people in Kashmir. The Census of Handicrafts Artisans in 2000-2001 by the National Council of Applied and Economic Research (NCAER) approximates the number of artisans in Jammu and Kashmir at 542,119 (NCAER, 2000). The geo-economic placement of the state (no railway links, lack of mineral exploitation and the climatic conditions) made it non conducive to the growth of medium and large scale mechanized industry. Easily available raw material, high levels of skills that have traditionally developed and lack of machine made competition had encouraged this growth of the crafts industry in Kashmir.

A project report developed by the Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) and the National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD) for the Government of Kashmir in 1999 mentions that the State of Jammu and Kashmir has traditionally been dependant for industrial growth on the cottage industry and handicrafts. The report quotes the presence of 500,000 skilled workers in Kashmir, with approximately 5 to 6 million people directly or indirectly benefiting from this industry (NABARD, 1999). Here indirect benefits refers to those who are involved in tertiary areas of the crafts sector, such as people involved in rearing the sheep that supply the wool, the people who transport finished products to markets, the manufacturers of dyes and looms and so on. This highlights the importance of handicrafts to Kashmir's economy.

2.3 Social Identity.

The last component block of situating Kashmir lies in the understanding of the Kashmiri social identity and the central role crafts plays in defining it. This section looks at the concept of Kashmiri identity, how it is defined and understood, as well as my own identity as a Kashmiri and the role it played in this fieldwork (2003-2006). My identity and approach to this work, helped to resolve a crucial situation that occurred during fieldwork, this has been included here.

2.3.1 My Identity as a Kashmiri Researcher

My identity of being a Kashmiri, Hindu and female enabled me to engage more deeply and widely within the Kashmiri community. After a breakdown of trust and community relationships, most Kashmiris have turned inwards and are very reluctant to discuss and debate any issues that relate to the State or to the conflict. Most Kashmiris are shy and reserved, though warm and welcoming they have the ability to become tight lipped about personal information and opinions - a fact they told me about themselves, the reason given being the lack of trust of anything and anyone who was not Kashmiri or from Kashmir. I was welcomed warmly as the 'daughter' and 'sister' who had returned

to her homeland and her roots. My status as a lone traveller was marvelled at, as conditions in Kashmir were not safe during the course of this research. The people interviewed were almost proud of me and my interest in Kashmir. The fact that a single Hindu female would risk travelling to Kashmir alone out of her own interest added to this 'pride'. This support, openness and warmth from the people of Kashmir were not something I had anticipated when I first set out to work.

This welcome that I received caused me to revert to being reflective of my own methods of work. I did expect some resistance on behalf of the respondents to questions I would ask, I was therefore not prepared to be so appreciated. This is one of the pitfalls of working in the field, situations and reactions vary greatly from what was expected and predicted in the preliminary research stages. Though this was a positive aspect of my work, I had to be conscious of not developing any biases. As Wax (1971) mentioned, I could run the risk of 'going native' if I chose to get too close in my thinking to the respondents I was meeting and interacting with. Thus, though pleasantly surprised, an element of caution and awareness of my position as a researcher was borne in mind.

As a Kashmiri Hindu I had been aware of the mass migration of the Kashmiri Pandits from the valley in 1989, they had been subjected to verbal and physical threats on the basis of their religion and had left the valley fearing for their lives. This influenced the planning stages of my work, where I decided to maintain a low profile and spend longer periods of time in the valley (see chapter 1). However despite the cautions and dedicated attempts to maintain a low profile I was met by an armed militant organisation, this highlighted the real dangers that lay in working in Kashmir.

2.3.2 The Threat to Life

During the course of fieldwork in 2003, armed militant organisations "escorted" me to a hillside location for a one sided "interview" that was conducted by them (against my free will). They were keen to know more about my presence in the valley, the work I was doing and the need for it. They were keen to identify the source of funding for this work and assess it for its political agendas (if any). They also wanted to know the aim of

this research and its scope for helping the people of Kashmir. I was also questioned about political affiliations vis-à-vis Kashmiri politics (India vs. Pakistan vs. Independence). My personal intent and purpose of doing this work was scrutinized. This meeting was unplanned and unexpected, bearing in mind that my location and itinerary was known only to a few people. It was not a pleasant experience and revealed with extreme clarity the dangers of working in an area which still faces low intensity conflict. The meeting was brief, though it did not feel so while I was with them.

2.3.3 Non Violence

An average Kashmiri is peaceful by nature and while he is good at arguments and debates, resorting to violence has never been seen previously. As Singh notes in her book on Kashmir, 'The Kashmiris took great pride in their supposedly non-violent nature and often joked about the fact that the most violent thing that ever happened in a political dispute was that one Kashmiri threw his *Kangri* at another' (Singh, 1996, p.107). She notes this peaceful nature on a visit to Kashmir in 1987. She goes on to say, 'Who would have believed that in less than a year from then the *houseboatwallahs* (houseboat owners) would be talking about Kalashnikovs?' (Singh, 1996, p.107)

As compared to the rest of India there are no traditional weapons in the Kashmiri attire. There is also a lack of war dancing, which is evident in many parts of India. This is interesting to note, as most cultures have traditional weapons, in most cases knives and daggers or swords and scimitars, with ornate handles and sheaths. While the other states of India show such traditional weaponry, in Kashmir there is none to be seen, neither in Hindu nor Muslim attire.

Respondents spoke about Kashmiris living in harmony with their mountains, content with their surroundings. They spoke about a lack of curiosity about what lay beyond the mountains, hence had no inclination to compare themselves or their resources with the rest of India or Pakistan. Thus the violence, and the short time it took to get a hold in Kashmir, is something many people in Kashmir still ponder about. The rise of the 'gun culture' came as a surprise. Respondents commented upon the fact that it took root and

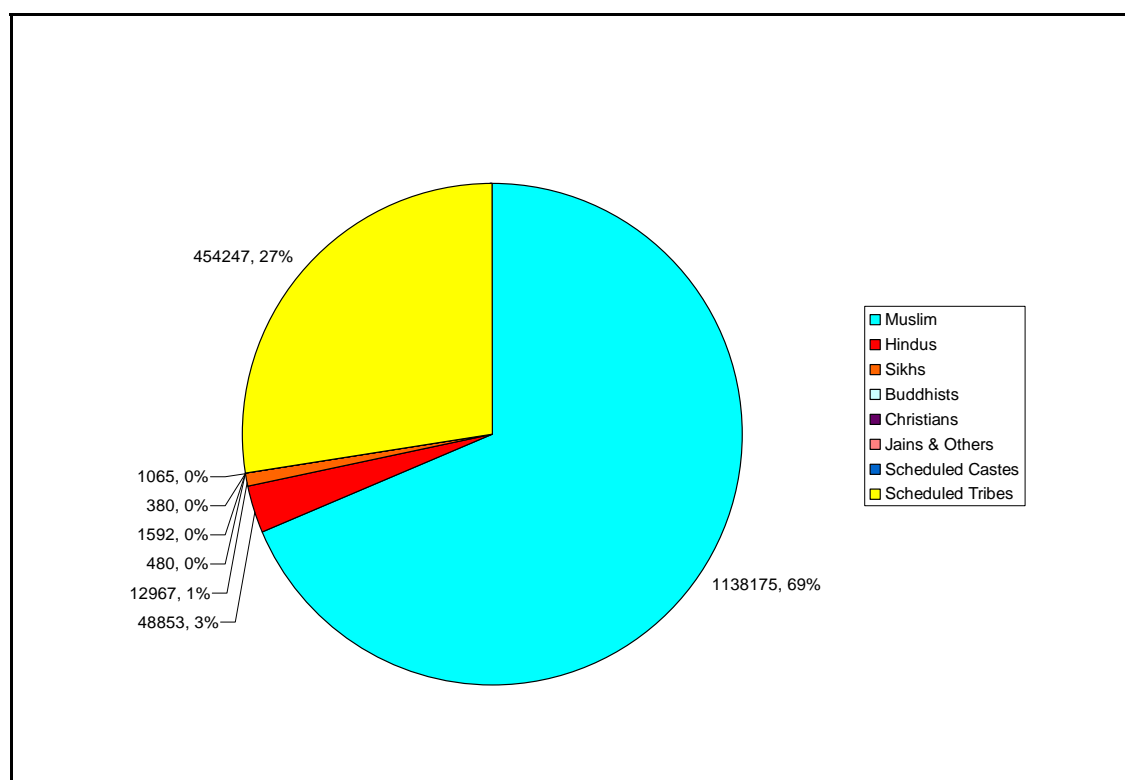
remained intact for over twenty years. There are many theories around this which emerged through fieldwork (2003-2006), which throw light on what people believed to be the reason for the violence and how some believe that it had been simmering unseen for a long period of time. However, analyzing these theories is not within the scope of this research.

2.3.4 Population Composition

Kashmir has an ethnic composition that comprises mainly Muslims (over 80%) and a minority of Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists. This according to Cater (2002) plays a role in the element of risk or vulnerability to conflict. Often majority interests clash with interests of the minority and create a power struggle that can lead to alienation and breakdown of community living and trust (Cater, 2002). In Kashmir this has been manifested in the rising tension between the Muslims and Hindus. While the Muslims are a majority of the population, yet the Hindus were, in the pre-conflict period, the bureaucrats and controlled jobs within the education sector, both areas vital to the successful running of the State. The conflict exacerbated tensions and long standing resentments. Rising communal tension lead to the migration of the Kashmiri Hindus, this has been covered in chapter three. The 2001 census (Fig 2.5) shows the composition of the population of the State. It has been understood that countries with highly fragmented ethnic composition have a lower risk of violent conflict, than those where a dominant majority group is coupled with minority populations (Cater, 2002).

It could be surmised here that despite being non violent in nature, dominance of one ethnic group over another could potentially lead to conflict. However whether this is really the reason for conflict in Kashmir, or even one of the reasons for the unmitigated aspect of it remains to be seen. Political reasons behind the conflict have been covered in chapter three.

Figure 2.6 Faith and Caste Composition of Kashmir in absolute and percentage values¹⁵



¹⁵ Government of Jammu and Kashmir, (2006)

2.3.5 Craft and Identity

This section highlights the interplay between craft and identity, bringing forth the importance of each in defining the other. This is an important aspect of craft and helps inform the research question about the traditional importance of Kashmiri crafts and the role they play in defining identity. It also illustrates the reasons why crafts are a living tradition in Kashmir and also sheds light on the reasons for their popularity and continuity in the current time.

Muslims crafts people make crafts in Kashmir and no instances of Kashmiri Hindu crafts people were seen during this research, this is due to their main involvement being within the education and bureaucratic setup of the State. In a White Paper on Kashmir Teng and Gadoo mention that the handloom and handicraft industry of Kashmir was almost wholly owned by the Muslims and provided employment to 91,941 persons of who 0.4% were Hindu (Teng and Gadoo, 2001). This is important to note here as the identity of the maker here does not reflect on the product made, or in any way influence the identity of the person who buys it.

Crafts play a major role in Kashmiri identity, which is sometimes known as *Kashmiriyat*. This is the commonality of shared rituals, traditions and customs, including food, language, dress as well as family names. These shared traditions bind people of different religions together within a cohesive Kashmiri identity. Quraishi (2004) and Zutshi (2004) have done in-depth studies of the concept of *Kashmiriyat*. Despite the conflict in the state, these traditions are still followed by the Kashmiri Diasporas across the world. The people, who migrated from the State after the conflict, still follow traditions, share names with their Muslim counterparts and still buy into the custom and tradition market when a birth, death or marriage occurs in the family. These crafts are living traditions and are visible in the daily lives of the Kashmiri people around the world who form an essential domestic market for craft made goods. In the social context, crafts in Kashmir are a way of life and are omnipresent in daily non-ceremonial situations and are preferred over mass produced goods. Curiously there

seems to be little involvement of traditional objects in death ceremonies for Hindus and Muslims.

Critical evaluation would reveal that communities who migrate from their homelands are known to highly value their traditions in alien environments. There are numerous examples of this and can be seen in England where various migrant communities hold onto their traditions and dress and systems of marriage, food, language and culture. The Gujaratis from East Africa¹⁶ are a good example of this. Here the holding onto tradition causes the dynamic nature of culture and tradition to be stultified, promoting rituals and traditions that lose their logic and context. This might not be completely applicable to the Kashmiris yet; however as generations of Kashmiri migrants settle in other locations, this shift in culture might be noted.

On a daily basis Kashmiris use hand made goods such as the *samovar*, a metal kettle (Fig 2.8, 2.9) that is used to make the Kashmiri tea known as *kahwa*. People use silver tureens in the kitchen for serving gravy dishes; these are traditionally made using Kashmiri designs and manufacturing. The cup used for drinking tea is known as the *khos*, a metallic tumbler with a unique shape. The winter sees people using a *kangri*, an earthenware pot with embers, held in a basket woven out of grass (Fig 2.7). The *kangri* is kept close to the body for warmth. Hand woven tweed and wool are used for garments and the *pheran* (Fig 2.10) which is a woollen tunic worn by men and women is visible everywhere in the Valley once autumn sets in. Most houses have floor seating which means there are no couches, woollen rugs *numdahs*⁷ and *gabbas* as well as silk carpets line the floors, and crewel worked cushions are used in a simple seating arrangement. Also visible are dishes to serve food made out of copper, trays carved out of walnut wood and decorative items made of papier-mâché and musical instruments made of clay and leather skins (Fig 2.11). Kashmir is steeped in its crafts and they are never far from the surface and are visible everywhere, being used for the functions they were originally designed for. It is important to note here that Kashmiri women often purchase and use the craft made good within the domestic sphere. This is significant and is examined closely in chapter six.

¹⁶ See BROWN, J. M. (2006). *Global South Asians introducing the modern diaspora*. New approaches to Asian history. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

This description creates an almost idealistic picture of people living in harmony with their craft made goods. At the start of research I hoped I would see crafts being used by the local community that lives in Kashmir, I knew that *kangris*, *pherans* and *numdahs* are used, as I had seen these in my own home, however the depth and width of usage of craft made products seen in Kashmir was unpredicted. Careful analysis of any biases was included here; crafts are not exclusive to any particular economic class in Kashmir. Not all craft made goods are expensive as most are locally sourced and made they are often affordable to most people who live in Kashmir. Needless to say high value goods like Shahtoosh and Pashmina shawls cannot be included in this generalization. Price variation of the products depends on the quality of craftsmanship and embellishment on a particular piece. Time-consuming pieces that need painstaking work over a long period of time are predictably more expensive.

Craft made items also play a major role in formal ceremonies such as birth ceremonies, which Koul talks about in her book on Kashmiri traditions, *The Tiger Ladies*, she mentions, 'In our valley of Kashmir, which sits like an infant in the lap of the Himalayas, one of the first things you do when a newborn arrives is to make sure the baby is warm. You take the oldest shawl in the family, one that has worn fine with use, and fold it many times over until you have a small cloudlike blanket for the infant. The snow line encircles us and we are always making sure we are warmed by wool and firewood' (Koul, 2002, p7).

In marriages, the involvement of craft made goods is immense. A Kashmiri girl, irrespective of religion will be gifted Pashmina and gold (Fig 2.13, 2.15). She is also given kitchen utensils hand made from silver and a *Kangri* as part of her trousseau when she gets married. In Hindus, the affluent families would often gift the daughter a Pashmina *sari* on her wedding. Pashmina was and is still seen as equivalent to cash, which means that the resale value of Pashmina is always high, irrespective of the age of the *sari* (or shawl). Bridegrooms are gifted Pashmina shawls on their wedding from their parents in law (Hindu and Muslim). The bride is also often given a *pheran*, a long full sleeved tunic, with gold thread work known as *tilla* embroidery on the front in elaborate patterns. An ornate *Kangri* with incense sticks is also gifted to the bride

during the wedding ceremony. Before the marriage ceremony takes place, the folk singers of Kashmir and the family gather to sing songs using musical instruments like the *tumbaknari* (Fig 2.11) and the *not* (both drums). These instruments are locally made by hand. In the Hindu marriage ceremony silver filigree coins are used with a blade of grass for the bride to walk on, as part of the prayers. A Kashmiri Hindu woman is given gold earrings, which are a symbol of marriage, she wears these *atehor* (Fig 2.14) looped over her ears for the rest of her married life and never parts with them. The *atehor* comprises of two parts one of which is made of gold and is called the *dejahor* and the bottom part the *atehor* that is made of silver threads or beaded strings. These craft made objects form part the identity of being Kashmiri Pandit. They are easily recognizable symbols that hold true in any location. A Kashmiri woman would and could recognize another one in a crowd on account of what she wears in terms of jewellery and clothing (shawl)¹⁷. While a Kashmiri man is easily discernible in his *pheran* or his woollen *Karakuli* cap (Fig 2.12).

These crafts are common to both Hindus and Muslims in the valley and contribute greatly towards a unity of identity, despite religious differences. Most Kashmiri craftsmen are Muslim however Hindus buy large number of craft made products from them, especially their daughters. This is important to note as, despite the division of the community on religious grounds, when the need to buy crafts emerges, the Hindus will and do buy goods made by the Kashmiri Muslims, it's a part of the *Kashmiriyat* that lingers on. During fieldwork (2003-2006) every Muslim from Srinagar who I met, knew of, or was directly related to someone who works in the craft business. In the past five years of research, this had held true for every time I met a Kashmiri Muslim. It is a fact worth noting as it reveals the depth of involvement of Kashmiri people with crafts.

This section highlights the importance of crafts to the people of Kashmir by showcasing the ways in which craft contributes towards the Kashmiri culture and indeed also the Kashmiri identity. Here culturally relevant and valued products can be seen as vital to

¹⁷ This was recently evidenced on the London underground, where a woman wearing an *atehru* was instantly recognizable as a Kashmiri and Hindu, the jewellery she wore worked almost like an identity card, instantly defining her as a Kashmiri Pandit to other people from her community.

the identity of the community. This value of culture and its importance to development shall be discussed in chapter five.

2.3.6 The Value of Crafts to the Kashmiris

Crafts in many ways reinforce identity, provide continuity and supply handmade goods that have not yet been replaced by mass produced objects. Kashmir does not have a large retail market as compared to other state capitals of India, this may be largely due to its political history, geography and its post conflict status, thus craft made goods provide obvious solutions for functional and aesthetic needs of the Kashmiris.

When asked why they value crafts, during fieldwork (2003-2006) in Kashmir, the people interviewed were surprised by the question. Kashmiris take for granted the usefulness and vital role of crafts in their society. They could not visualize existence without their crafts. They thus approached the question as an almost irrelevant one. Explanation of the question being hypothetical and theoretical made them reflect on it, however, from their perspective it was as close as a question came to being ridiculous. Later on I was criticized for thinking too much, and told that some things just *are* done in a certain way and will always be, and this needs to be accepted and not questioned. Though this serves as a good response to being asked to introspect, it also reveals the somewhat simplistic approach to life on behalf of the Kashmiris, wherein they find no reason to question or analyze their surroundings or behaviour. This response also reflects on the ease of rapport that had been developed between the respondents and me.

One of the female respondents mentioned that crafts, especially gold jewellery and shawls and saris (Pashmina and Shahtoosh) were given as security to the girls when they get married. In situations of financial pressure, a woman could sell them for cash. They form her personal wealth and thus were precious to her. In parts of India this gold, which is given in marriage to a girl, is known as *Stree-Dhan*, which literally means woman's (*stree*) wealth (*dhan*). The shawls and the shawl maker have intricately woven lives with the new brides of the family. Families generally buy shawls from the same shawl maker and he might have visited the homes of the people who will eventually buy

shawls from him for their daughters. He sells the shawls to them, and sometimes he might be the person the girl might sell her shawls back to under financial hardships.

This thought is reflected also by Koul, ‘And, when lives move ahead and scenes shift, it is to the same shawl man that a young woman might sell the first half of her Pashmina sari. She never forgets what my grandmother also wants me to remember always, that Pashmina is currency. If the bad times continue she will sell the other half as well. If so instructed, he will not tell her parents about these transactions’ (Koul, 2002, p19). Thus apart from being functional, aesthetically pleasing and traditionally relevant, the crafts of Kashmir are valued by people for their financial value as well. This might be a reason why people covet craft made goods.

The three core areas of value (from cultural theory) that are ascribed to crafts here are – the aesthetic value, the moral (or sentimental) value and the economic (or exchange value). Kashmiri craft made textile products, like Pashmina shawls and *saris*, thus have a high value in all the core areas, making them precious to the owner. As the owner of traditional heirlooms I know the sentimental value of the goods often surpasses their financial value. This holds true across most cultures as people bestow value on things that is often more emotional than financial. Kashmiri crafts due to high quality of their workmanship have long lives. This means that while handmade Pashmina acts as currency and its financial value is high, other craft made goods might not be of great monetary worth but they have high emotional value to the owner. Therefore crafts are not just bought, they are also inherited, and gifted.

2.3.7 Value of Crafts to the Makers

Almost all crafts persons interviewed said they would not want their children to be crafts people. The few who did not respond to this question were those who did not have young children such as senior master craft persons, thus the question was irrelevant to them. However, a majority of crafts people, especially men, did not think it was a respectable profession and mentioned their lack of alternative skills as the reason why they continue to work in crafts. This is a sentiment that is echoed by crafts people

across the world and is not unique to the Kashmiri crafts persons (Jaitly, 2003). Fieldwork research (2003-2006) revealed that many people believe that crafts were declining in their ability to generate steady, sustainable and respectable livelihoods thereby creating the impoverished craftsman image which leads to disrespect for the profession. They pointed out that in the years gone by the rulers appreciated their skills and promoted them through investing time and money in the sector, however this has changed now.

In other parts of India craftspeople are thought to be descendants of *Visvakarma*. According to Hindu tradition, all the arts and crafts are of divine origin, having being revealed and handed down to certain individuals by “the miraculous genius” (Zimmer and Campbell, 1962, p.3) of Lord Visvakarma¹⁸ - the creative archetypal power. He is the primordial creator and the supreme patron of arts, crafts, science and creativity (Sharma, 1989). In Kashmir no such association was known to the craftspeople. This might be primarily because all craftspeople interviewed were Muslim, and the idea of *Visvakarma* is Hindu in its essence. As there were no Hindu craftspeople, this concept of divine descent could not be studied further. Thus the profession of craft and its continuity seemed to be of little value to them. This is a worrying discovery as it could mean that craft skills could stand the risk of fading away in the future.

However despite the lack of respect, an increasing number of people were seen to be joining the crafts sector and this is examined further within this thesis. Crafts are traditional systems of making, their history is varied, yet numerous respondents in the crafts sector who were seen working revealed the value crafts have for them, as an area of employment. This is significant as it forms the crux of understanding post conflict Kashmiri crafts.

The makers of craft were asked about the exchange/ economic value of the crafts. I was keen to know what role their craft making played in defining their identity. I asked them

¹⁸ See SHARMA, A. S. (1989) *Visvakarma Smaj ka sankshipt itihās - short history of Vishvakarma society*, New Delhi, Visvakarma Institute of Research and Education. See also ZIMMER, H. & CAMPBELL, J. (1962) *Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization*, New York, Harper and Row. and ANAND, M. R. & GILL, E. (1957) *The Hindu View of Art*, New Delhi, Asia Publishing House.

therefore about how they perceive the crafts they make. Asking this question to a poor Pashmina weaver or embroiderer was ironical. The craftspeople honestly pointed out that they could never buy what they made. Pashmina shawls cost thousands of Rupees and few if any could afford to buy what they made. However they pointed out the fact that they did buy other craft made goods such as the *pheran*, *samovar*, *kangri* and other just objects of daily use that have been mentioned earlier contributing to the crafts economy. An important observation here reveals that crafts people did not see their purchasing crafts as a means of supporting other crafts people, but had an almost a de facto approach. They bought goods they needed, the goods being craft made was only incidental. Further thought regarding this was not seen and questions asked about this usage of craft made goods for domestic and personal needs were left unanswered.

2.4 Conclusions

Geography and the role it plays have been studied here to emphasize the isolation of Kashmir and examine how it possibly creates a conducive atmosphere for crafts to thrive as an area of work. Mountains of Kashmir provide challenges as well as opportunities and in many ways define the people who live in the valley. Geography also plays a role in tourism that feeds the economy of the State the importance of which has been illustrated in this chapter. This chapter reveals the cultural importance of crafts and the role they play in defining the Kashmiri identity. This culturally relevant activity and its importance to economic development of the region have been elaborated and built upon in chapter five.

The politics of the region that are not a mainstay has been conspicuous by its absence in this discussion as it tends to overwhelm data with political connotations and tinges the observations and analysis with a political overtone. However it can be understood that politics of a region can often circumscribe or provide opportunities to craft and other activities. Politics in Kashmir has indeed impacted the way crafts are practiced and this is discussed at length in chapter five. This chapter has helped situate Kashmir and identified boundaries within which this study was conducted. The following chapter

studies the politics of Kashmir and engages with the analysis of the impact of politics on the people of the region.



Figure 2.7 *Kangri* – A Willow basket containing clay pot, for carrying hot coals from 1970's



Figure 2.8 *Samovar* - Kashmiri Copper Kettle, probably dates to 1990s



Figure 2.9 Woman with Tea *Samovar*, probably dates to 1980s



Figure 2.10 Woman in *Pheran*, 1910



Figure 2.11*Tumbaknari*, a musical instrument, probably dates to 1990s



Figure 2.12 Karakul Cap, contemporary, probably dates to 1980s



Figure 2.13 Antique gold bangle – part of wedding trousseau, Personal Collection, approximately made in 1850s



Figure 2.14 *Atehor* - part of the wedding trousseau, Personal Collection, approximately made in 1850s



Figure 2.15 Antique gold and emerald jewellery – part of the wedding trousseau, Personal Collection, approximately made in 1860.

Chapter 3 – The Conflict in Kashmir – History and Impact

The region of Kashmir has a violent past and understanding of the conflict and its history are essential to gain an understanding of Kashmiri crafts in the post conflict period. This chapter aims to provide the political underpinning to this research and is divided into two broad sections. It looks at the history and nature of the conflict in Kashmir in the first section, its cost and impact on Kashmir in the second. It endeavours to give a comprehensive view of the background to the conflict as well as point out the major political milestones in Kashmir's history. The main political pathways to peace that have been suggested by academics and researchers shall be covered. However these pathways are mere suggestions and have been used to provide an understanding of the complex nature of the conflict and what it means for Kashmir's socio-economic future.

This chapter is important as it dissects the conflict in Kashmir allowing for a closer look of its impact. This is important as it informs this research about the current status of Kashmir and also allows for an objective view of the impact of the conflict. More importantly this chapter highlights the intractability of the conflict, which has created a fragile peace and forms the main barrier for attempts at sustainable development to be made in Kashmir. This indicates the presence of continued vulnerability within the society and economy. This builds towards providing reasons for the increased activity within crafts as people devise strategies to cope within this post conflict region.

This chapter has used a qualitative research approach, which includes literature reviews as well as primary research undertaken in Kashmir. Data searches for history of Kashmir's politics and the impact of it on society and economy of Kashmir were conducted. Information was being sought specifically about the impact of the conflict on crafts of Kashmir. No directly relevant information that informed this aspect of the research was found, though vast amount of literature on politics and history of the conflict were seen. Analysis of secondary data indicated that the impact of conflict on a region could be seen in various aspects of economy and society. Thus by studying the impact of conflict on other parts of the world, I could inform my research and guide it to

look for possible similarity of patterns or indeed uniqueness of impact in Kashmir. Thus exploration of the wider area of conflict studies shaped the research for this chapter.

The literature review of the numerous pieces of political research that exist on Kashmir informs this work about the history of conflict. Literature was selected on the basis of its relevance in understanding nature of conflict, types of conflict, reasons for intractability and the impact of conflict on society. Political discussions about the Kashmir conflict, Indo-Pak relations and pathways to peace were studied in works of Bose (2003), Schofield (2002), Ali (2001), Evans (2005) as well as Samii (2005), Koithara (2004) and Chagla (1965). These works are available as published books, journals, newspaper articles as well as research reports and Internet based news articles. Literature reviews of conflict theories, which form a vast body of work within the political sciences, were also conducted to juxtapose Kashmir within these studies. Conflict and post conflict research that has emerged from conflict areas such as Sierra Leone, Sudan, Afghanistan, Angola, Mali, Somalia and Uganda, Rwanda, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Eritrea, East Timor and Nepal was also studied. The *Journal of Global Governance*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Journal of Humanities and Peace* and *Journal of History* were extensively used to guide peripheral and specific reading as well as to locate further references, which could inform this research about Kashmir's politics. The costs of conflict were studied through works of Cranna (1994), Quraishi (2004), Singh (1996) as well as Chopra (2007). Conflict theory was studied through works of Thakur (2002), Howard (1997) and Joras (2008), Nordstrom (2004) and Chamberlain (2006). Statistics about arms trade and export of weapons to India and Pakistan have been cited from the SIPRI¹⁹ database. Migration statistics and discussion has been studied in works by Bhati (2005), Kaul-Batra (2004), Martin (2004) and Shekhawat (2003).

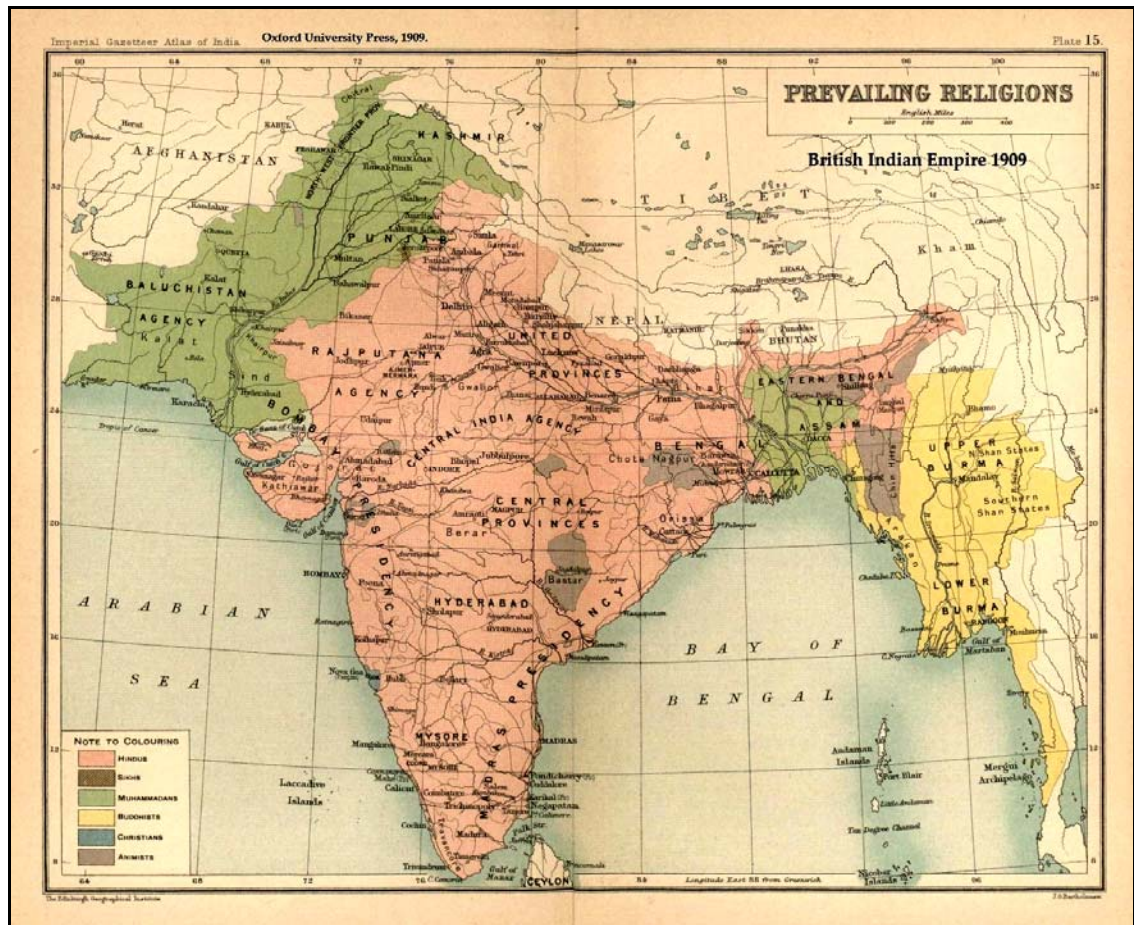
¹⁹ SIPRI.Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Available from:<http://www.sipri.org/> [10 January 2008] SIPRI conducts research on questions of conflict and cooperation which are of importance for international peace and security, with the aim of contributing to an understanding of the conditions for peaceful solutions of international conflicts and for a stable peace (www.sipri.org/about). The database developed by this institute is used extensively by political researchers and analysts and gives details of the variables and methods used to gather these statistics.

3.1 The History of the Conflict

The history of the conflict in Kashmir is one of the oldest unresolved conflicts on the agenda of the United Nations, along with those of Israel and Palestine (Evans, 1995). At its heart is the issue of the rightful ownership of Kashmir that dates back to 1947. Pakistan claims that it was created as a nation for Muslims, thus a State like Kashmir that has a predominantly Muslim population should rightfully have been a part of Pakistan when it was created through the Partition of India in 1947. It was further argued that for the largely Muslim State of Kashmir it was easier to integrate with Pakistan as it shared borders with it. This was not the case in other Muslim dominant areas in India such as Hyderabad, Alwar, Tonk and so on, which were in the Indian mainland and thus could not be a part of Pakistan even if they so wished to be. The overriding theology behind the creation of Pakistan was the concept of having a nation for the Muslims, who were by the late 1920s determining their own culture and identity and by the 1940s it was an expression of the Hindu Muslim confrontation that had been taking place for centuries (Ahmed, 1997). It was the outcome of the two-nation theory developed by Sir Sayyid, who believed that Hindus and Muslims were separate people and needed to live separately (Ahmed, 1997). Fig 3.1 shows a pre-partition map of India. Thus when given an option the State of Kashmir with a predominantly Muslim population should have joined Pakistan. This is admittedly a simplistic version of the long detailed debates that comprise the argument over Kashmir²⁰.

²⁰ For partition of India in relation to Kashmir, see: CHAGLA, M. C. (1965) *Kashmir 1947 - 1965*, New Delhi, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. AHMED, A. S. (1997) *Jinnah, Pakistan and the Islamic Identity -The search for Saladin*, London, Routledge, SIRAJ, M. A. (1997) *Kashmir: Desolation or Peace*, London, Minerva Press, BOSE, S. (2003) *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.

Figure 3.1 Pre-partition map of India, 1909



The Indian nation came into existence on 15th August 1947 when the Muslim state of Pakistan was created out of the secular state of India, Pakistan comprised of West Pakistan, which is the current day Pakistan and included the North West Frontier province and parts of the Punjab, and East Pakistan, which is now an independent nation of Bangladesh included the Eastern parts of the State of Bengal (See Figure 3.1)²¹. The partition marked the end of British Colonial Rule in India and made India a ‘sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic’²². It also created Pakistan that was the new Islamic nation. The declaration of independence and division was swiftly followed by sectarian violence in most parts of Northern and Western India and Pakistan. Twelve million people migrated unexpectedly from their homes, and to date partition related

²¹ Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/india/prepartitionmap.htm>

²² The Constitution of India.

migration represent the biggest refugee movement of the twelfth century (Talbot and Thandi, 2004).

The State of Jammu and Kashmir had started to take shape in 1846 when the British captured the Kashmir Valley and sold it to Gulab Singh, the Dogra Maharaja of Jammu (Koithara, 2004). The Dogras were upper caste Hindu warriors from Jammu (Bose, 2004). It is interesting to note here that when the British – Dogra pact, also known as the Treaty of Amritsar, was signed, the Maharaja paid the British a substantial sum of money as well as undertook the annual presentation to the British Government of, ‘one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (sex male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmiri shawls’ (Bose, 2004, p.12). This clause within the Treaty of Amritsar is interesting as it highlights the value of the Kashmiri shawl in 1846. In 1947, at the time of partition of India, Jammu and Kashmir was among the largest of the 562 so-called princely states in the Indian subcontinent, the ruling family at this time was of the Dogras. When India was partitioned, a part of the country seceded to constitute itself into Pakistan. The new Government of India was the successor government to the Government of the United Kingdom in India. Pakistan was a new State, which came into existence (Chagla, 1965). India argues that Kashmir chose to be a part of it through the Instrument of Accession that was signed by the Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir on 26 October 1947 and was accepted by Lord Mountbatten the next day. The debate continues to the present day with both nations spending more than they can afford on defence. Reports of India spending close to the equivalent of one million Pounds a day have been quoted on the BBC’s South Asia website. Fig 3.2 is a map²³ of Kashmir after the creation of Pakistan and India in 1947.

²³ Recent maps of Kashmir are hard to locate and use. The Royal Geographic Society, London, mentions that a lack of data, sensitivity of the region, issues of security, and changing lines of conflict/ control are the reasons for unavailability of updated maps of the region.

Figure 3.2 Jammu and Kashmir administrative divisions, May 1949



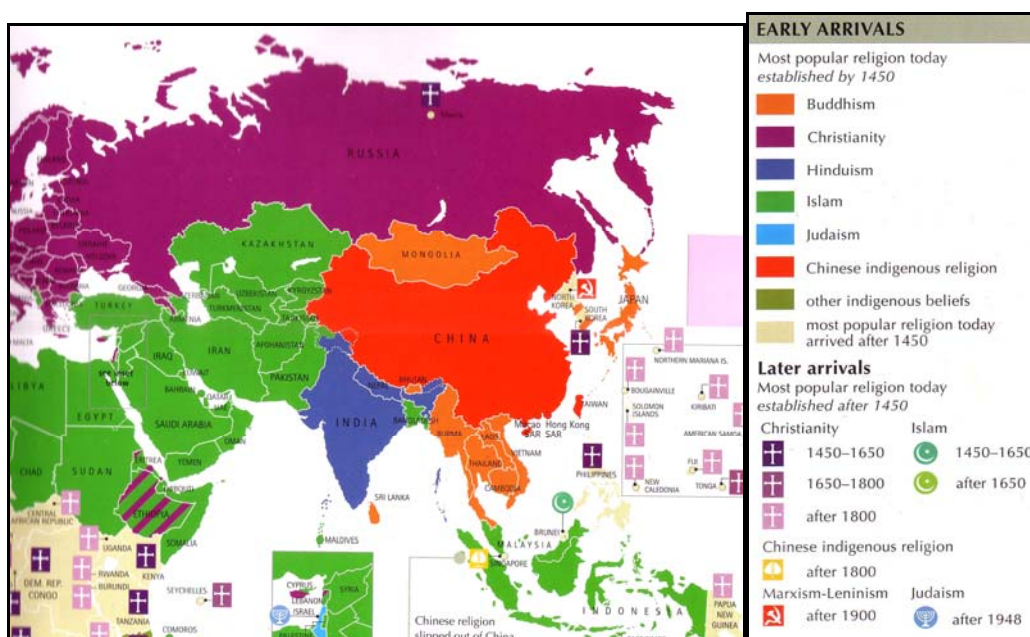
3.2 The Significance of Kashmir

It is important at this stage to understand the strategic geographical links between India and Pakistan vis-à-vis Kashmir. Before the Partition, the Valley's main links with the outside world were through the road to Rawalpindi and, in fact, if Gurdaspur in Punjab had been awarded to Pakistan, and not to India, by the Boundary Commission, Kashmir could not possibly have come to India (Chagla, 1965).

At the time of partition Jammu and Kashmir seemed to be a generous prize for both India and Pakistan. Koithara (2004) mentions the reasons for this significance and value of Kashmir. He mentions that to Pakistan, the size of the territory of Jammu and

Kashmir was lucrative, as it was almost one-and-a-half times that of East Pakistan (Bangladesh). In its central Asian position it shares borders with India to the south, Pakistan to the west, Afghanistan to the northwest, China to the north and east, and Tibet to the east. This means that the State has a fair share of international borders and any political development in this region would be of significance to its neighbours. This gives Kashmir considerable bilateral military significance (Koithara, 2004). Kashmir's religious background also contributes to its geo-politic significance. It is the last Muslim region on the political map that starts in the West with Egypt and goes across a string of Muslim nations towards south Asia, ending in India, India being a secular nation and Nepal which borders India being the seen as the only Hindu country in the world (see Fig 3.3). This is to highlight the significance that Kashmir has as a Muslim State in the South Asian region.

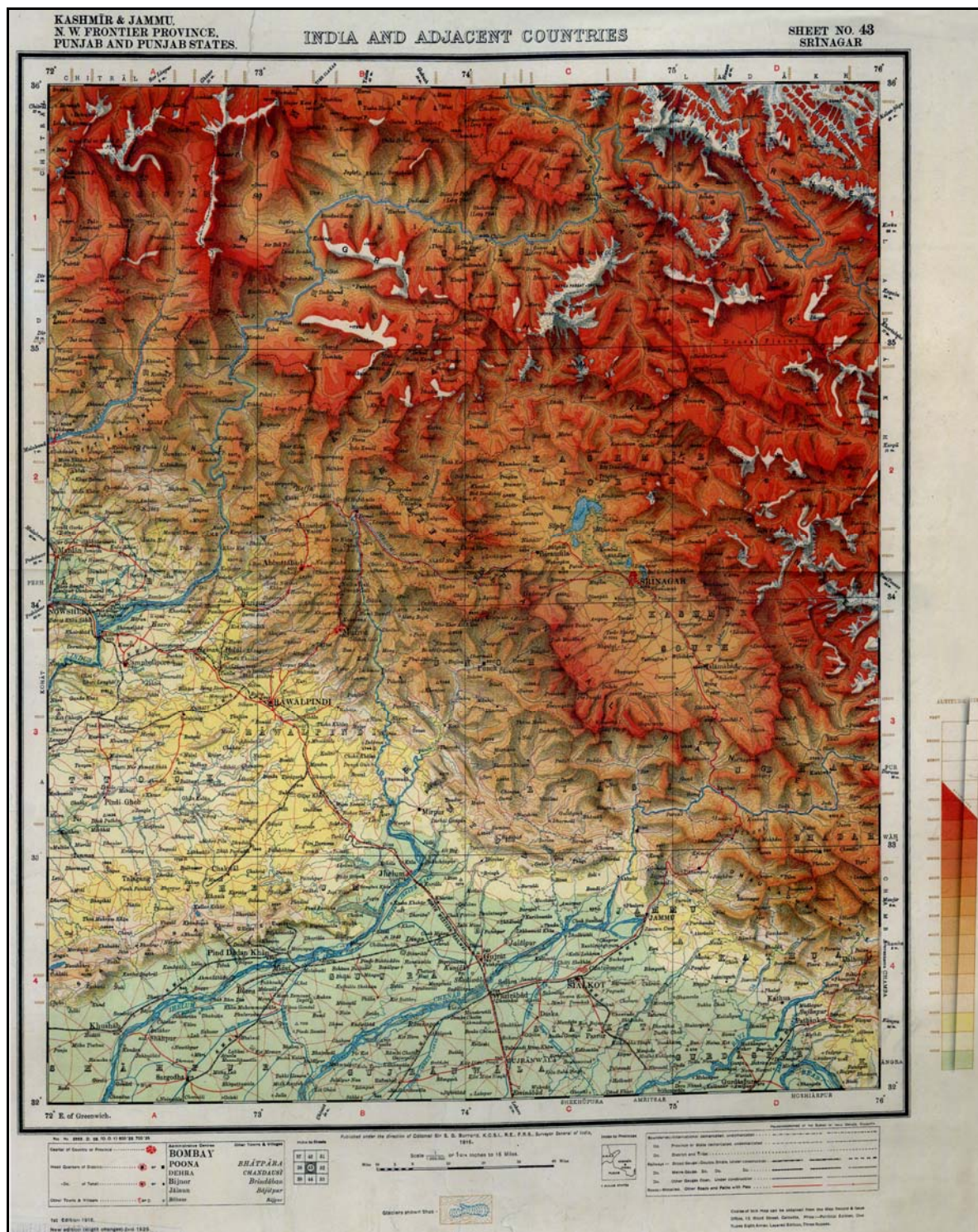
Figure 3.3 Position of India and Kashmir within the religious context of its neighbours



It has to be borne in mind that the geographical location of Kashmir is significant to the conflict in many ways. The Himalayan Mountains of Kashmir contain glaciers that are the main source of water for most of north and central India and Pakistan. The main rivers in India, the Ganges and the Yamuna which water the plains of India have their glacial sources in Kashmir. The River Indus, Jhelum and Chenab also flow from these

glaciers and provide water to large parts of Pakistan. Dams have been built and water treaties are integral to the Indo Pak relationship (See Fig 3.4). Thus the natural resources of this region are also of significance. This water resource also makes Kashmir favourable for development of hydroelectric power generation, the potential of which is yet to be realised (Cranna, 1994).

Figure 3.4 Physical Map of the Kashmir region showing shared water systems, 1916



A close match of Kashmir's geographic conditions that make it vulnerable to conflict was seen in Sierra Leone and Afghanistan. In a report to the International Peace Academy in New York, Cater mentions the vulnerability of mountainous areas to conflict by saying, 'Geography also plays a role: states with mountainous terrain, forests and dispersed populations are reportedly at higher risk of conflict than states where it is easier for the central government to assert control over territory' (Cater, 2002, p.3). It can be understood from this comment that remote mountainous terrains seem to be more susceptible to conflict. The mountain ranges in Kashmir cover a vast amount of territory, some of these mountain ranges are hard to monitor due to the harshness of their environments.

3.3 The Birth of the Conflict Over Kashmir

Once the Governor General of India accepted the accession of Kashmir's King to India - Lord Mountbatten, the State became an integral part of the Dominion. However the reason for Pakistan's disagreement is the basis of this accession, where a Hindu ruler decided the fate of a largely Muslim state. In response to this issue Chagla states, 'it is significant to note that there was no provision for consulting the people of the Princely State concerned within the instrument. Nor was there any provision that the accession had to be ratified by ascertaining the wishes of the people of the acceding State' (Chagla, 1965, p14).

Unlike most rulers who had acceded to India or Pakistan before 15 August 1947, Hari Singh, the ruler of the Princely State of Kashmir, did not make up his mind before partition. He asked for a standstill agreement both with India and Pakistan in regard to communications, supplies and post and telegraph arrangements that had been interlinked with British India. Fearing the political odds to be stacked against them, Pakistan cut off communications and stopped the supply of essential commodities into Kashmir, thereby putting undue pressure on Kashmir (Koithara, 2004). Military action on behalf of Pakistan which led 7000 armed Pashtun tribesmen in 300 trucks being sent through the Domel-Mahura-Baramula-Srinagar road into Kashmir to force the Maharaja's hand. The Kashmir State troops could not match the armed invasion due to

differences in scale. The ruler was unable to prevent the large-scale lootings and killings, he requested the Government of India to let the State of Kashmir accede to the Indian Dominion. Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on 26 October 1947.

Both India and Pakistan agreed that the accession would be confirmed by a referendum once the hostilities were ceased. This referendum is the bone of contention between India and Pakistan over Kashmir even today. It has not yet been held. The conflict over Kashmir's rightful ownership can be traced back to 1947. Events and changes to the political timeline of Kashmir have been included in appendix two.

The politics of Kashmir, the possible solutions and pathways to peace form a large body of work done by analysts and scholar, yet it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss these. Violent agitation in Kashmir began in 1989, largely due to the flawed state election of that year (Koithara, 2004). The period of tension between India and Pakistan saw the rise of militancy in Kashmir. This period saw the birth of militant outfits like the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) who demanded that freedom meant an Islamic rule '*Azadi ka matlab kya hai? La Illahi A Illal*' (Kaul, 1999), their political objective was an independent Kashmir, which led to Pakistan's support being lent to the Hizbul Mujahideen, the military wing of the fundamentalist Jamaat-e-Islami Jammu and Kashmir (JIJK) whose aim was to get Kashmir to join Pakistan (Koithara, 2004). Militancy in the region accelerated as crime and violence against civilians increased. This militancy escalated rapidly in response to heavy-handed Governmental attempts to curb it. A large number of Muslim militant groups sprang up and in 1989 this struggle for self-determination found targets in the Kashmiri Hindu population. Over 300,000 Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs left the Valley in a mass exodus between 1989 and 1990, they moved to the neighbouring State of Jammu (Kaul, 1999). As militancy escalated, the Indian army was brought into the Valley and military movement across the relatively peaceful Valley began. Bunkers with army men filled the streets of Srinagar and the AK-47 and the sound of gunfire started becoming common in the Valley.

The current deployment of troops and the active military personnel on both sides of the border indicate that the conflict is far from over. Samii mentions in a report to the International Peace Academy that the Indian deployment to IJK (Indian Jammu and Kashmir) has been among the largest operational deployments of military forces since World War II, with deployment strengths of at least 250,000 – 400,000 army troops and paramilitaries since 1990 (Samii, 2005). Cranna (1994) quotes this figure of Indian military as 130,000 army personnel and an almost equal number of paramilitary. Paramilitary consists of the Border Security Force (BSF), the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and the Indo-Tibetan Border Police. This according to Bhatia (1993, cited in Cranna, 1994 p.66) makes the ratio of one soldier for every ten Kashmiris. As India renewed talks with Pakistan and political parties in Kashmir consented to being involved in discussions about Kashmir, the State of Kashmir remains one of the most heavily militarised conflict zones in the world. The timeline of the conflict is included as appendix two.

3.4 Post Conflict – Defining the Current Status

Post conflict has been understood to be a term that is hard to define according to the World Bank. Kreimer (1998) mentions, ‘Drawing a line between conflict and post conflict is not easy. The apparent closure points to conflict such as peace agreements or elections, rarely signal the clear beginning of a definable post conflict reconstruction period. Rather, there is a period of transition where peace must still be consolidated and ground laid before sustainable recovery can begin’ (Kreimer, 1998, p.9).

For this research the term post conflict has been used to signify the period of time, since 2003, where a relative decrease in armed militant activity was seen in Kashmir. Fewer instances of militant attacks, fewer cases of shootings and army-military encounters were seen during this period of time. Koithara (2004) claims that terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir began to show a declining trend in the second half of 2003 when India and Pakistan proposed travel across the line of control, unilateral ceasefire and agreed to commence dialogue on Kashmir. Few reliable statistics were found in recent searches to validate this supposed decrease in military presence. However this decrease

in military personnel was evident over the period of fieldwork between 2003 and 2006. The reasons for this could be that over the past three years there has been an increase in international pressure on Pakistan and India to resolve their issues over Kashmir. There has also been an international crack down on terrorism led by the USA post 9/11 which has been supported by UK and other nations as well as the UN²⁴. The post conflict period since 2003 as established by Koithara (2004) seems to be a valid time frame.

Conflict areas are defined on the basis of the kind of conflict they underwent. The Bureau for Conflict Prevention²⁵ and Recovery was established by the United Nations Development Program's Executive Board.

There are four broad categories of conflict that have been developed by the UNDP's Bureau of Conflict Prevention and Recovery (Ohiorhenuan and Kumar, 2005).

Category A - the extreme situations where the violence was so overwhelming that the state collapses. Countries like Liberia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Democratic republic of Congo, Sierra Leone come under this category.

Category B – The regions where nations have emerged from conflict with their political and economic structures largely intact. Countries like the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Guatemala and Sri Lanka come under this category.

Category C – Where the conflict has affected large portions of the territory and physical decay is significant, but the state and its basic infrastructure have remained intact. Countries like Mozambique, El Salvador, Angola, Cote d'Ivoire and Burundi are included in this category.

Category D – Where full scale organised conflict might not have erupted and hence the state is more or less intact, but there are recurrent phases of violent tension. Countries like Haiti, Guinea-Bissau come under this category.

²⁴ See appendix 2

²⁵ The Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery also known as UNBCPR works around the world to restore the quality of life for men, women and children who have been devastated by natural disaster or violent conflict. Operating through some 100 country offices, the Bureau provides a bridge between the humanitarian agencies that handle immediate needs and the long-term development phase following recovery see (www.undp.org).

In Kashmir the basic infrastructure is intact, yet the conflict has affected large portions of its territory, here a full scale organised conflict did not take place which is the reason for the state being intact yet it sees repeated phases of violence and tension. If the categorisation created by the UNBCPR is applied to this situation Kashmir would be a mixture of categories C and D. The current political situation in Kashmir is one of uneasy peace. As cross border violence continues at various levels, the State struggles to survive the impact of the intense violence over many years. Fragile peace is a common occurrence in areas of violent conflict, which means that peace is often marred by outbreaks of violence even after the signing of peace accords and even in the reconstruction phase. Research indicates that, “a legacy of violence is the most reliable predictor that a country will experience violent conflict in the future” (Collier, 2001, cited in Pain and Goodhand, 2002, p.36). This peace which is often understood by an absence of war or active conflict is known as ‘negative’ peace and is contrasted with ‘positive’ peace which includes universal rights, economic well being, ecological balance and other such core values which comprise aspects of a good society (Fisher et al., 2000). This definition is apt for Kashmir as it struggles to reconstruct its society and economy to work towards a positive peace in an absence of war. A post conflict situation can therefore be described as the decrease in confrontation, violence and tension and a move towards resolution and development of normal relationships between conflicting parties. While the first three qualifications hold true for Kashmir today, the last two are still in the process of being achieved with India and Pakistan resuming dialogue over Kashmir. At this stage it should be observed that the peace is fragile due to unresolved issues and problems, which arise out of incompatible goals and could therefore lead to another pre-conflict situation (Fisher et al., 2000). This fragility of peace has to be born in mind while working in Kashmir.

3.5 The Changing Nature of the Conflict

Conflicts often have complex dimensions and analysing their nature throws light on their diverse impact. While conflicts are usually seen as damaging to the region they occur in, there are elements of benefits that are included within each conflict. This element of benefit from conflict has been included in this section.

Government policy in Kashmir has played a vital role in keeping the conflict alive. Tully puts it succinctly, 'No Prime Minister or President could water down the position on Kashmir and survive politically' (Rees, 1998)²⁶. This does seem to indicate that it is in the interests of the political parties to use the Kashmir issue as a political agenda for gaining votes in elections. While in Muzaffarabad, the capital of Pakistan Administered Kashmir people believe that fighting India in Kashmir is a just war, Pakistani soldiers believe that they are protecting an Islamic state from a Hindu country (Rees, 1998).

It was also observed during fieldwork (2003-2006) that people mentioned that the many deaths and disappearances of innocent people should not go in vain. Though they spoke about being tired of the conflict, it was observed that the graveyards in Kashmir are locally known as '*shaheed* (martyrs) graveyards' that indicates the underlying presence of a cause for which the person buried lost their lives. This sentiment emerged only in fieldwork and was not noticed in media coverage or literature reviews. This martyrdom also indicates that seeking a peaceful resolution, which might not be in lines of the cause for martyrdom, could be hard to achieve.

The media exposure to the Kashmir issue is controlled and very often lop sided in its portrayal of the conflict. The impact of the conflict on the people and the Valley is rarely mentioned. This links to the issue of isolation mentioned earlier wherein alienation of the Kashmiri people is compounded by this lack of mention of their plight in media reports that are written and broadcast about Kashmir. Most often images in the media show the Indian army battling militants and seizing arms and ammunition. This portrayal depicts the threat of militancy and how the Indian State of Kashmir needs the protection that is provided by the Indian Army, yet it fails to include the impact of this militant and also military activity in the daily lives of the people who live in Kashmir. Quraishi (2004) mentions the reasons for this lack of documentation or information, 'These (are) stories we rarely hear because more dramatic, 'spectacular' tragedies like bomb blasts and shoot-outs get the headlines. There is little space available to highlight the daily humiliation Kashmiris suffer' (Quraishi, 2004, p.vii).

²⁶ *The Unfinished War* (1998) TV. BBC 2, 28 November 1998, 2200 hrs.

Critical analysis of this one-sided media portrayal of Kashmir indicates that it is partly aimed at justifying the need for a large defence budget. It also indicates the depiction of the Kashmir problem as a battle between national army and external opponents, reflecting Kashmir's problem as a nationalist issue. Research showed that people view Kashmir as a battle between Pakistani militants and the Indian army. This is important to note as it reveals the ways in which people's perception of conflict and war is moulded to suit political interests of the media and the Government.

Vested interests of ruling parties in controlling and monitoring information that comes out of a conflict zone are a known phenomenon. It has been known to be practised with extreme rigidity in many regions, for instance in Iraq by the Ba'ath party (Seierstad, 2004). This could be seen as a direct impact of conflict on people's right to information. When this subversion of information is studied in relation to Kashmir what emerges is the divisiveness of information. Seen here is the rhetoric directed at the Indian masses to convey the protection of Kashmir from armed foreign militants that the Indian government does as a part of its duties to protect its borders.

The issue of nationalism and war has been studied by various political scholars and constitutes a large volume of work²⁷, yet discussion of these is outside the remit of this thesis. However here this is used as indicative of the perception of Kashmir. Interviews indicated that most non Kashmiri Indians think that Kashmir is an integral inseparable part of India. The nationalists believe that nuclear bombs developed by India are a laudable effort made for defence against Pakistan and protection of Kashmir (Roy, 2004), (Roy and Barsamian, 2004). The over arching interests of people, not connected personally to Kashmir, was observed to be of keeping Kashmir as a part of India, and continuing the war. India is vociferous in its ownership of Kashmir. Pakistan has been talking about the promised plebiscite for Kashmiris for decades now. None of the parties are flexible or pragmatic enough to reach a compromise to accommodate each

²⁷ For nationalism see Hearn, J. (2006) *Rethinking Nationalism*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan also Hutchinson, J. and A.D. Smith (eds) (1995) *Nationalism*, New York, Oxford University Press see also Mayall, J. (1990) *Nationalism and International Society*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press and Juergensmeyer, M. (1993) *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

other. Nationalist and religious fanaticism ensures that principles are neither negotiable nor for sale.

Fieldwork research (2003-2006) revealed the people in Kashmir to be war weary. They desire peace the most. It was easy to believe that everyone desired peace and an end to the conflict was a solution that would be of benefit to all. However to understand the conflict in its entirety it is important to include the deviant voices which claim that conflict is beneficial to many and varied vested interests support its continuity. Included here are the deviant voices of the people who claim that profitability of conflict remains one of the most important reasons for their continuity. Here works of Thakur (2002), Crocker et al. (2005), Cranna (1994) and Nordstrom (2004) that argue about the benefits of conflict for individuals and small groups have been included. These views are contained within conflict theory, which is studied in the next section. This section attempts to highlight the fragility of peace and the pessimism of a resolution of the conflict. It is significant to understand this in order to see Kashmir as an under/ undeveloped region and how this might not change drastically in the near future, given reasons for the intractability of the conflict.

3.6 The Intractable Conflict

Thakur (2002) debates the protracted nature of the conflict, he argues that each conflict is unique and has its own dynamics; many of today's conflicts are particularly resistant to efforts at resolution because a set of adverse and contradictory logics tilts the balance towards their perpetuation. This could be applicable to Kashmir where numerous futile peace talks have been held between India and Pakistan.

Conflict theorists have discussed the nuances of conflict between strong (economically sound and geographically larger) nations and their weaker neighbours. Thakur and Cossa (1999) cites the example of North Korea vs South Korea. Here it was seen that two nations needed to make peace, yet it took only one party to keep the conflict alive. It is important to note here that a stalemate where in both nations do not seek a mutually beneficial solution but instead have continue to maintain tension has been defined as a

4-S stalemate by Zartman (1996, cited in Crocker et al., 2005). Here a stable, soft, self-serving stalemate (4-S) is preferable to both parties who control some portion of the territory and population and are able to claim that they have not been defeated, which Crocker et al. chose to call 'some sort of victory' (Crocker et al., p.52). It is mentioned here that this stalemate is often not simultaneous, which means one party often pursues the conflict, while the other suffers, and changes in fortune reverses the situation. Crocker et al. mention Kashmir, Sudan and Angola as areas where a one sided stalemate has never hit both nations simultaneously. The 4-S stalemate²⁸ is known to remove pressure on parties to resolve the conflict on their own or even listen to mediators; this is evident in the case of Kashmir.

Conflict analysts and theorists have researched profitability from conflict leading to protraction of the conflict. Financial gains from any situation, is a hallmark of developing nations. Corruption is rife in most developing nations and India and Pakistan are no different. While this research has not had the chance to study Pakistan in depth²⁹, Indian corruption³⁰ is famous and has been researched and written about intensively.

Conflicts, war and corruption often go hand in hand as can be seen in the case of Angola, Sierra Leone, Vietnam – Thailand, Iraq, Afghanistan, analyzing these conflicts in detail is outside the scope of this research. However it is a well-known fact that wars have been fought within the backdrop of profits in trade in oil, diamonds, international aid, human trafficking, drugs, money laundering and arms. It cannot be denied that there is often a lot of money involved in the backdrop of conflict, and in conflict itself.

Sometimes wars may start over control of lucrative resources; in other cases, they may be rooted in-group grievances but still may end up being sustained by the greed of those who discover that profits can be made from fighting.

²⁸ See details of 4-S terminology in CROCKER, A. C., HAMPSON, F. O. & AALL, P. R. (2005) *Grasping the nettle : analyzing cases of intractable conflict*, Washington D.C, United States Institute of Peace Press.

²⁹ This is mentioned in the introduction. Information on Pakistan has been gathered to literature reviews and few interviews. Primary research in Pakistan was not a possibility, due to Visa restrictions on travel.

³⁰ For studies written corruption in India see: Gupta, K.N (2001) *Corruption in India*, New Delhi, Anmol; Kohli, S (1964) *Corruption in India*, New Delhi, Chetna; Mehta, S.S (2002) *Corruption in India, an empirical study – An Overview*, Transparency International India & ORG-MARG Research, New Delhi; Halayya, M (1985) *Corruption in India*, Affiliated East-West Press, New Delhi; Dwivedy, S and Bhargava, G.S (1967) *Political Corruption in India*, Popular Book Services, New Delhi.

Fisher et al. (2000) mention, 'Wars themselves are often the result of systems deliberately fostered by those benefiting from the destruction.' (Fisher et al., 2000, p.9). This profitability of conflict has been cited as the reason for intractability by many political researchers. 'Profitability is commonplace – someone profits in any conflict – and so is an oft forgotten characteristic of lasting conflict, as attention focuses much more on costs and losses, the pain and the suffering that unresolved conflict brings to the losers' (Crocker et al., 2005, p.51). It is evident that war could be more peaceful than peace for both sides in the Kashmir conflict. The money, which flows for the purchase of weapons, ammunition, vehicles, gasoline, food, medicine, tools, engineering equipment, communication systems, computers ad infinitum are all costs of the conflict that are legally justified by governments (Nordstrom, 2004). These are costs that are justified by governments, budgeted and spent. Corruption within the ranks often benefits from these large budgets. In a case study of Kashmir, Cranna (1994) mentions that in India, the arms and nuclear industries receive a great deal of investment from the defence budgets for Kashmir.

Nordstrom (2004) also mentions the illegal aspect of profitability from conflict. She mentions that diamond, oil, timber, seafood and human labour that come from the war zones stretching from Angola to Burma, are used to buy weapons, supplies and services. This highly valuable illicit trade is highly profitable for some, but importantly these profits often promote the intractable nature of the conflict and the lack of desire for peace on parts of stakeholders that benefit from this trade. This illegal trade which supports the conflict economy has also been studied by Thakur (2002) in and has also been mentioned by Crocker in terms of mobilization of resources such as diamonds, drugs, and timber in places like Angola, Colombia, Serbia, and Chechnya (Crocker et al., 2005). The illegal trade in these commodities yet again supports the concept of profitability from the conflict for some stakeholders.

Thakur (2002) points out what he considers an important role played by the expatriates in keeping conflict from being resolved. There is a persistence of competitive nationalism despite reality of increasing internationalization and globalization. In Kashmir, in an age of global media, politics, economics and terrorism, the secular

nationalism of India collides with the religious nationalism of Pakistan and the ethnic nationalism of Kashmiris.

The perception of precedence setting is also an important underlying reason for the unresolved conflict and the immovable stand the India has taken on Kashmir. The Indian government believes that in granting independence or autonomy to Kashmir they might be setting precedence for other parts of India where separatist violence is effecting daily lives e.g. North Eastern states of Nagaland and Assam (Cranna, 1994).

When peace is mentioned, the issue of justice comes up automatically in most cases. It is often difficult for long-lived conflicts to achieve both. Peace would often mean an end to hostility and the attempt at moving forward towards reconstruction and renewal of the damaged society and economy. In building peace, people eventually demand justice. Justice by its nature is backward looking and consists of bringing up issues in the past, that need to be discussed in order for justice to be meted out. This means that peace and justice are contradictory in nature. Peace is forward-looking, problem solving and integrative, requiring reconciliation between past enemies within an all-inclusive community. Justice is a backward looking, finger pointing and retributive, requiring acknowledgement and atonement, if not trial and punishment, of the perpetrators of past crimes' Thakur (2002).

This section has looked at the various causes of the intractability of the conflict. This aims to highlight not only the various possible reasons for the continued fighting and lack of resolution, but also to reveal how over a period of time this issue has remained intractable. It indicates the fragile political situation in Kashmir and throws light on the uncertainties that Kashmiri society faces. More importantly this section reveals the slim possibility of a stable and lasting peace being negotiated for Kashmir that could bring development to the region and relieve Kashmir's economy and society of unemployment, poverty and insecurity. The fragile peace and presence of this deep rooted unresolved conflict is possibly also the reason why there have been few attempts to reconstruct and develop the region. The next section looks at the impact that the conflict has had on the socio-cultural life of the people of Kashmir.

3.7 Impact on Civilians

Since the start of the conflict in 1989 over 20,000 civilians have been killed (Kaul, 1999) which is a mere tip of the iceberg because it does not include the people injured³¹, missing, rapes, molestation and suicides which also took place in Kashmir. The death toll is of non-combatants, which means the number of military personnel dead, injured or missing is also not included in this figure. Figures provided by the Indian Army in Kashmir's 15 Corps reveals that the total number of civilians injured through explosions, in 1990-2003, is 16090. For the same period of time 4636 women have been reported as abducted³². The crimes against women increased in Kashmir during the conflict, this is evident in Fig 3.7

Figure 3.5 Crimes against women in Kashmir³³

Year	Rape	Molestation	Kidnapping & Abduction	Eve Teasing	Dowry deaths	Cruelty by relatives
1991	124	282	415	143	9	3
1998	178	516	629	361	9	18

Cases of rape, shooting, kidnapping and torture were reported in newspapers in India on a daily basis at the start of the conflict. The victims were women, Hindu and Muslim. The Muslim women blamed the Indian troops, and the militants in the Valley were blamed for attacks on Hindu women. Lack of sympathy (due to lack of information being sent outside the Valley) from the rest of the country meant increasing isolation and unrest amongst the people of the Valley. Matters came to a head and a minority population of Hindus left the Valley in 1989. Increasing military presence in the Valley has created immense discomfort and a lack of trust for both: the military as well as the Kashmiri people, this was observed during the various stages of fieldwork (2003-2006). This military-civilian interaction also reveals that unlike previously where battles were fought between soldiers on a battle front, the conflict now is present across the city, in

³²Army in Kashmir, 15 Corps. Available from www.armyinkashmir.org/civilian.html [Accessed 08/04/2004]

³³ Statistics from the National Human Development report of 2001

fields, villages, communal spaces, parking lots, markets, banks, hospitals and also in homes.

There are more than 6000 young men missing in the Valley, all of whom, according to the Head of the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP), were picked up for interrogation and never came back (Quraishi, 2004). The statistics for the number of people dead in the conflict varies. According to Quraishi (2004) over 70,000 Kashmiris have lost their lives in the last fourteen years. Government estimates don't go beyond 25,000. There is a martyr's graveyard in every *mohalla* (locality) of a town (Quraishi, 2004). Human Rights Watch (HRW) in May 2006 quoted numbers³⁴ that were slightly different from the ones mentioned above. 4500 people have been arrested during the past 17 years for terrorism or related activities in Kashmir. The total number of civilians killed according to official sources is over 20,000 however, Human Rights Watch mentions that the Kashmiris think this figure is 80,000. Yet another official source (quoted by HRW) mentions that the total casualties including civilian, militants and security forces are over 50,000. Human rights groups believe that the total number of people missing is 8000 while the government claims that this figure should be 4000. It is interesting to note how most figures quoted are well-rounded even numbers³⁵.

There is an obvious discrepancy in these statistics that suggests vested interests in raising or reducing the figures. Nordstrom (2004) notes this discrepancy and blames perception and understanding of war as fought between two soldiers, where a civilian death is incidental and peripheral. This might be the reason why it is easier to accrue an exact figure of deaths and injuries of military personnel but not those of civilians. Nordstrom mentions, 'the civilian casualty and rape are understood as different orders of violence situated along a continuum that demarcates both severity and im/morality. It would seem as if a hierarchy of violence is invoked in war, with harm against soldiers and actions against those in uniform seen as greater acts of war than harm on civilians.' (Nordstrom, 2004, p. 59)

³⁴ Personal communication with HRW, London. May 2006

³⁵ See Appendix 4 for more statistics on death due to conflict.

This is applicable in Kashmir where violence against civilians is not truly accounted for by any organisation or agency. Here violence can be defined as the wilful act of harm with intent that included an emotive content. Civilian deaths are direct fallout of conflict, yet have been consistently ignored by authorities and statistics of these are often estimated, but never given in absolute numbers. As Chamberlain points out, 'Data on civilian deaths in conflicts are often uncertain, even for military actions conducted in the last 100 years, but in modern warfare (post World War –II) civilian deaths amount to 90% of total conflict related mortality' (Chamberlain, 2006, p.77). These civilian deaths can be ascribed to the change in patterns of warfare, where battles are not fought only along a military front but also in civilian communities and as Kashmiris in Srinagar said in their backyards. This shift in nature of conflict has been noted by Nordstrom (2004) where in she mentions that the image of a complete battle separated from civilian life around it is an antiquated view. Geilen et al.(2004) also mention this by referring to former Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Guatemala, Somalia and Rwanda where fighting occurs more increasingly within communities as opposed to battle fields and as a result war related civilian deaths are often high. This awareness of this shift in nature of conflict is important in understanding the social impact of the conflict.

3.8 Women and the Conflict

Numerous civilian deaths have had an impact on the social composition of society in Kashmir. Male deaths and disappearances have outnumbered the female. This means that there are more women in Kashmir than men. This was observed during fieldwork (2003-2006) and through conversations with people who mentioned this change. Few verifiable statistics were found to support this claim that was made by a majority of Kashmiris who all spoke about cousins, sisters or other female relatives who are unmarried, widowed or have spouses who have disappeared. This last category, now known as 'half widows', are those whose husbands are missing, but not confirmed as dead. This means they might never know if their husbands shall return some day or not. The anguish of living every day not knowing, and not being able to bury the dead (if indeed they are dead) is something they have to live with every day. It also means that

they shall not be able to remarry. Some of these young widows have children and thus they are now the heads of the family.

This change in sex ratio was verified through literature reviews of other conflict zones to establish if this is a known impact of conflict and can be seen outside Kashmir. Charlesworth and Chinkin (2000) mention that, 'in many areas of armed conflict men sustain specific harms at a disproportionate rate to women (...) as men are the targets of disappearances in times of conflict and political oppression at significantly higher levels' (Charlesworth and Chinkin, 2000, p.251). They go on to cite Amnesty International's report on Afghanistan, 1995, where it states the consequences for women family members of disappeared men are not always acknowledged³⁶. This lack of acknowledgement of women, whose male family members have disappeared, in Kashmir's case half-widows, is evident in Kashmir as well. This study will contribute to the understanding of these women and the role they play in post conflict Kashmir. The issue of change of sex ratio has been noted by Sharma (1987) who mentions that the protective role men play in areas of conflict, where women are rarely warriors and therefore do not need to subject themselves to the possibility of death in conflict is an important reason for the change in sex ratio. Date-Bah (2003) also comments on the impact of conflict and burden of it being borne primarily by women due to changing sex ratios in conflict zones. Men of combat age are most often the ones who are conscripted and therefore killed or injured during battle. Women, however, are the main victims of war (El-Jack and Bell, 2003).

This trend, of unequal burden, especially income generation for women in conflict situations, is also not unique to Kashmir. It has been observed in other parts of the world in situations of armed conflict. Women across the world seem to be affected disproportionately due to the specific nature of armed conflicts. This trend was noted as far back as 1944 by the International Labour Organisation (Date-Bah, 2003, p.113). The Platform for Action adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women (September 1995) drew attention to the fact that there is a heavy increase in the burden of women stemming from the rapid escalation of female heads of households and from caring for

³⁶ See (1995) *Women in Afghanistan: A Human Rights Catastrophe*, London, Amnesty International.

the large numbers of injured people (...) as a result more women may engage in income generating work, while some may lose access to land and labour or more secure livelihoods' (Date-Bah, 2003, p.113).

Brun's (2005) work in Sri Lanka indicated that women in conflict zones in Sri Lanka bear the brunt of the conflict and often act as the head of the household due to death and disappearances of men. While Thiruchandran (2001) mentions that women in Eastern Sri Lanka are de-facto heads of households in a post conflict scenario. Conflicts result in an increase in the number of female-headed households.

Analysis of these cases reveals that a change in sex ratio, which means a higher number of women live in conflict zones, is a known consequence of conflict. Direct involvement at a higher scale, of men in conflict has led to the creation of this imbalance. This imbalance in turn impacts the role that women play in post conflict Kashmir. There is a shift in their role from homemakers to household heads with the responsibility of income generation. In Kashmir's men were traditionally the breadwinners and this change in balance has complicated repercussions for the Kashmiri women. This social impact is of significance to this study and as therefore been integral to this work. The impact of conflict on women has been noted here briefly, however it has been discussed in detail in chapter six.

Changing roles of women in society has a direct impact on children as well. Deaths and disappearances of children during conflict have scarcely been recorded, as explained this data is not easy to locate and no absolute figures were found. Children have also been known to enlist within the military or become armed combatants in places like Sierra Leone and Palestine (Brocklehurst, 2006). The study of children³⁷ in areas of conflict forms a large body of work that has not been included here. While this is typical

³⁷ For study of children in conflict see BRADY, L. (1974). *Children in conflict: problem stories for primary grades*. Sydney, Dymock's Book Arcade, HENRIQUES, F. (1975). *Children of conflict: a study of interracial sex and marriage*. New York, Dutton; BLACK, M. (1998). *Children in conflict: a child rights emergency*. [London], UK Committee for UNICEF, BOYDEN, J., & BERRY, J. D. (2005). *Children and youth on the front line: ethnography, armed conflict and displacement*. Studies in forced migration, v. 14. New York, Berghahn Books, ROSEBY, V., & JOHNSTON, J. R. (1997). *High-conflict, violent, and separating families: a group treatment manual for school-age children*. New York, Free Press.

for conflict studies where in children are often grouped with women as a single unit and not studied independently as stakeholders of the conflict (Brocklehurst, 2006), time restraints prevent an in depth study of this sector. Here the implications of the conflict on women and therefore their children alone has been mentioned, this is illustrative of the changes in Kashmiri society and the impact of the conflict therein.

To reiterate- Kashmiri women are now by default the breadwinners in their families. This was observed as a dramatic change for women. These issues form a focal part of this study and including them here would undermine their importance. This section here is used to illustrate the various sectors of society that have been impacted by the conflict and has been discussed in greater detail in chapter six.

3.9 Migration and the Kashmiri Diaspora

In chapter two the faith composition of Kashmir was discussed to reveal the risk of violence that this composition creates for the region. At the start of the conflict in Kashmir communal differences came to light in the form of attacks on the Kashmiri Hindu's (Pandits) and Sikhs who formed a minority population. Kashmiri Pandits were seen as an impediment to the political imperatives followed by Muslim separatism (Bhati, 2005). Systematic targeting of this population was seen in massacres of Hindus in Wandhama, Sangrama, and Nadimarg and of Sikhs in Chattisinghpora. Bhati (2005) mentions the various targeted killings of this minority population and how it started the displacement and mass migration of the Kashmiri Hindus and Sikhs from the Valley. This movement of people to outside the confines of the valley out of fear of safety in an environment of rapidly escalating conflict comprises the start of the communal division of society in Kashmir. Between 1989 and 1990, the social and cultural dynamics of the State had changed. The Kashmiri Hindu population migrated, as there was an increase in the number of religiously motivated attacks.

The migration of Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley also changed the socio-cultural dimensions of the Valley. Thousands of Hindus, fearing their lives, moved away to the neighbouring State of Jammu between 1987 and 1990. This mass movement of people

left a gap in society and infrastructure of the State, a gap that the people of the Valley were seen to still acknowledge and regret. This was evident from conversations during fieldwork (2003-2006) with people.

According to the CIA's World fact book, the refugees and internally displaced people who left Kashmir during this conflict are 600,000, of these about half according to the book are Kashmiri Pandits (CIA, 2007). The Ministry of Home Affairs cited in Bhati (2005) mentions a total of 56,323 migrant families who live in Jammu and Delhi and also other parts of India. The World Refugee Survey by the US Committee for Refugees cites the total figure of internally displaced people in India to be 600,00 (Martin, 2004). There is a discrepancy in the figures (as discussed before) due to these effected people being civilians and also because the sources of these figures could have vested interests or biases in doctoring statistics.

It should be noted here that 'migration' as a term is generally used in context of movement for 'the better'. People generally migrate in search of jobs and better lifestyles. Migration is defined by the United National Multilingual Demographic Dictionary (1998) as a form of geographical mobility or spatial mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival. A more appropriate terminology for the Pandits (Hindu people of Kashmir), who left the Valley, could be 'Internally Displaced Persons' which signifies individuals who have left their homes because of persecution, civil war or strife, abuses of human rights, and similar causes but have not crossed an international border (Martin, 2004). This incongruity of terminology has been mentioned by Bhati (2004) as a wilful act of discrimination. Recognising Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs as internally displaced persons would entitle them to international humanitarian aid and protection provided to refugees, thus using the word 'migrant' could have many vested reasons behind it.

This distinction and discussion about terminology is rooted within the beneficial and progressive inferences in the word 'migration', and the detrimental and also victimised connotations of the word 'refugee' or 'internally displaced person'. Here again, the

issue of benefits of the conflict, can be seen. The migration of people that ensued due to the conflict is also said to have enhanced the living standards of the migrants. The Pandits (Hindus) left the Valley in a mass migration, fearing their lives in 1989. They believe that at some level this migration was good for the future of their children as they (the children) received new opportunities in education and wider options in terms of career choices outside the Valley of Kashmir. They were also exposed to other cultures and people who they would have not interacted with while in Kashmir Valley, due to the isolated location of the Valley. To these Pandits the long term loss of property, social relations, communal living and departure from homeland in Kashmir is juxtaposed with the long term benefits through opportunities for growth, development and potential realisation of their children. Young professional Kashmiri Pandits in UK spoke about this candidly in informal conversations³⁸.

According to Ibáñez and Moya (2006), displaced people find it harder to find employment as they often come from rural areas and their agricultural abilities are not valued in urban areas. They lose their assets and have limited access to financial markets; they also have limited access to formal insurance mechanisms, especially in developing countries (Ibáñez and Moya, 2006). Migration patterns and their nature were studied in work by Shekhawat – a social researcher where in she has identified eight types of migrants³⁹ from Kashmir since 1947. Her study highlights the complexities of migration from a Kashmiri perspective and is symbolic of the complex and extensive impact that the conflict in the State has on the Kashmiri population.

Crafts people interviewed during fieldwork (2003-2006) spoke about the migration and gave reasons for their not leaving the State. The approach used was not interrogative, they reflected on the migration themselves and said that they could not afford to leave their hometowns as they were unaware of any employment options outside the state. They also did not know what reception they would get outside Kashmir owing to their Muslim identity. This religious identity becomes important due to the communal divisions which came to light in the aftermath of migration of Hindus and Sikhs in the valley. Perceptions of Kashmiri Muslims outside Kashmir have seen a seismic shift due

³⁸ See Appendix 1.

³⁹ See Appendix 3 for types of migration from Kashmir as identified by Shekhawat.

to the innate political associations this identity evokes amongst the nationalistic political rhetoric of the ruling government in India.

However the unusual or atypical argument of this migration perspective mentioned by crafts people reflects on the conflict benefiting segments of society. This was evidenced in textile products that were being made in Amritsar and Ludhiana in Punjab (Fig 4.49). These products look very similar to the Kashmiri shawls in terms of designs and colours; however they are woven on mechanised jacquard looms⁴⁰ and cost less than 1/10 of a Kashmiri shawl. These shawls that I saw in the Delhi markets were traced back to Kashmiri crafts people who had migrated to Punjab in the 1990s, seeking safety and employment. Here they joined the textile industry and worked in shawl making which was mechanised, adapting their craft skills to suit their new environment. This information was gathered through interviews with Kashmiri crafts people, some of who came to Delhi to sell these new products in Connaught Place in central Delhi and *Dilli Haat*, a crafts market in south Delhi. They blamed the conflict for their migration, however had no complaints about their new employment as it gave them steady employment and thereby money. What was interesting to note was that these men were from the outskirts of Kashmir, closer to the border of India and Pakistan; areas which are known for craft working, but are also sometimes in the direct line of fire. These people sought safety first and then also employment. The next section looks at the issue raised about religious identity here and discusses the social impact of migration that was a result of the conflict.

3.10 Communal Divisions and Identity

Migration has increased communal tension which was not present before in the Kashmiri community. Kashmiri Pandits resent the fact that they had to flee from their homeland because of their religious affiliations. The conflict has split open a cohesive community and sparked communal hatred – which has been aggravated by the right

⁴⁰ It is also important to note here that by developing a copied mechanised version of the Kashmiri shawl, the crafts people have changed the essence of the hand made shawl. It is more widely available and affordable for many people with prices ranging from Rs 200 – Rs 800.

wing political parties in the 1990s and even in 2000. This hatred and its reasons have not been addressed here, instead this hatred of the Muslims is observed for how it has changed the Kashmiri community. In the long run this religious antipathy could create a block in the peace negotiations and reconciliation efforts between the Kashmiris and attempted resurrection of *Kashmiriyat*. This shared identity was commented on by Emperor Jehangir (1605-1628) ‘I do not understand what type of *Musalman*s (Muslims) are found in Kashmir because there appears to no difference between them and the Kashmiri Hindus. They celebrate each other’s customs and traditions to the extent that they celebrate feasts together’ (Qureshi, 1999, p.232).

These shared traditions, which involved celebration of religious festivals together, was an important component of the Kashmiri identity (see chapter 1). The migration of non Muslims from the State of Kashmir was detrimental to this shared identity (Bhati, 2005). Respondents in Kashmir spoke about the changes in *Kashmiriyat*, wherein they mentioned that in pre-conflict times all people living in Kashmir saw themselves primarily as Kashmiri – a unified identity that excluded religious definitions. Religion was secondary to their identity. The conflict changed this wherein Kashmiris now identify with religion first and then share a unified regional identity. This can be seen as a negative social impact on Kashmiri people as generations of cohesion has ended with the conflict in the region.

The understanding of migration and its impact through communal divisions in Kashmiri society are direct fallout of the conflict. Here this illustrates the social impact of the conflict in Kashmir. Currently the only thing common to all people of Kashmir, which has emerged during the course of fieldwork (2003-2006) and secondary literature research, has been a unified appeal from all Kashmiris for peace.

3.11 Pathways to Peace

A peace process involves a large number of variables, which can interact in different ways depending on the initiatives taken by both parties (Koithara, 2004). The pathways to peace that have been suggested here are derived from various political studies on

Kashmir⁴¹ and include several broad options that have been suggested by analysts and scholars. These are mentioned here in a simplified manner. There are three possibilities for Kashmir, integration of the entire region with India, or Pakistan or independence. In the first instance it would mean acceptance of the Line of Control as an international border, this is not acceptable to either party as of now, due to many reasons. There is the option of granting Kashmir autonomy, which given decrease in autonomy over the past years of conflict, would be a hard task and would instantly alienate minority Kashmiris. The last option could lead to more fighting and possibly create an even larger problem in the region.

These options have been simplified to reflect the dilemma that Kashmir faces. The debate now is about which option suits the political parties and policies of India and Pakistan, which would be acceptable to the masses. It is also a debate about what the people of Kashmir want. Bearing in mind there are many types of Kashmiris in parts of India and Pakistan. There are Kashmiris from Pakistan Administered Kashmir, from Indian Administered Kashmir (both of who speak Kashmiri), the Kashmiri Pandits who live outside Kashmir and speak Kashmiri, the Kashmiri diasporas that live outside South Asia and also all those who are ethnically and racially Kashmiri but don't speak Kashmiri as a dialect. Thus a fair vote on Kashmir that includes voices of everyone who is Kashmiri might prove tough to cast. What this means is that there shall always be a group or segment that shall not be fairly represented if the political future of Kashmir is up for a full and fair vote. The discussion on Kashmir is a complex multi layered one with fissions running in all directions making a solution that is acceptable to all stakeholders virtually impossible. Due to the high volatility of emotions and the

⁴¹ See BEHRA, N. C. (2000) *State, Identity and Violence: Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh*, New Delhi, Manohar . BOSE, S. (2003) *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, JHA, P. S. (2003) *The Origins of a Dispute: Kashmir 1947*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, KARIM, A. (1994) *Kashmir - The Troubled Frontiers*, New Delhi, Lancer Publishers, KOITHARA, V. (2004) *Crafting Peace in Kashmir, Through a Realist Lense*, New Delhi, Sage Publications, QURAISHI, H. (2004) *Kashmir - The Untold Story*, New Delhi, Penguin Books, QURESHI, H. (1999) *Kashmir: Unveiling of the truth - a political analysis of Kashmir*, Lahore, Jeddojuhd Publications, SINGH, T. (1996) *Kashmir, A Tragedy of Errors*, New Delhi, Penguin Books, VEDANTAM, S. (2005) *The Ghosts of Kashmir*, New Delhi, Indian Research Press, BHATI, A. (Ed.) (2005) *Kashmiri Pandits, Problems and Perspectives*, New Delhi, Rupa and Co, BUTALIA, U. (Ed.) (2002) *Speaking Peace - Women's Voices from Kashmir*, New Delhi, Kali For Women, CRANNA, M. (Ed.) (1994) *The True Cost of Conflict*, London, Earthscan Publications, ALI, T. (2001) Bitter Chill of Winter. *London Review of Books*, 23,8, EVANS, A. (2005) Kashmir: A Tale of Two Valleys. *Journal of Asian Affairs*, 36,1 27-38, SWAMI, P. (2003) Kashmir through the looking glass. *(India) Seminar*, 497.

conflict, middle paths that help interests meet half way are also difficult to tread. The solution to Kashmir is not simple, the conflict is far from over, and the future is unclear.

3.12 Conclusions

It could be surmised here there are several reasons for the existence and persistence of the conflict in Kashmir. There is presence of vested interests in perpetuation of violence in this region. The media plays a significant role in developing the issue of Kashmir as a rhetoric used for personal gains of governing agencies in India and Pakistan. Civilian populations and their losses are seen to be incidental in a conflict that has nationalistic tones. Statistics of social impact are thereby often not verifiable or reliable. The social impact of the conflict was seen to not always be negative, however a large number of deaths and disappearances have caused grief and further alienation within Kashmiris and has had a significant impact on the women in Kashmir. Migration of people from Kashmir has created communal divisions and distorted the concept of *Kashmiriyat*, and cohesiveness of Kashmiri identity. Society in Kashmir was observed to have changed due to this conflict. This research shall focus in depth on the women in Kashmiri society who seem to have been impacted most by this conflict.

In assessing the social impact of the conflict this chapter has included the damage wrought by conflict while also including the atypical view of conflict benefiting people. The political and social dynamic of conflict leads towards understanding the economics of the region.

The research question seeks to understand the impact of the conflict. The intractability of the conflict and the reasons behind it indicates that a lasting peace in Kashmir would be hard to achieve. From the perspective of this research it means that the State of Kashmir will probably remain in status quo for some time yet. This means that society and economy shall need to devise coping mechanisms to rebuild their own lives. This is the crux of this research that set out to understand how craft making is important in post conflict Kashmir. The next chapter looks closely at the post conflict economy of Kashmir and the role crafts plays therein.

Chapter 4 – Shawl making in Kashmir

This chapter looks at the origins of the craft of shawl making, the traditional techniques of manufacture and the processes involved in producing shawls. It also includes a profile of crafts people along with critical analysis of the current craft industry in Kashmir. This includes statistics about crafts people and craft trade. The chapter allows for an understanding of the importance of the sector of crafts in terms of traditions, presence of skills, availability of raw material and well-established mechanisms of trade that have been used for many years. It informs the research question about the historical status of crafts and builds towards understanding of crafts from the perspective of its current makers. The study of craft making techniques reveals how shawl making has evolved over the many years. Analysis of skills and techniques builds an understanding of the complexities within craft making and provides the underpinnings to the discussions about crafts in the post conflict scenario that are included in the next chapter.

This chapter is divided into three sections, the first looks at the history of crafts, traditions of gift exchanging as well as the changes brought to the shawl by the various rulers of Kashmir. The second section looks at the processes and techniques of shawl making as followed in Kashmir in the present day, and comparisons have been drawn to the past, indicating areas where deviations from historical systems of making have been seen. The last section looks critically at the traditional structure of the Kashmiri shawl industry, this aims to understand the power mechanisms that exist, as well as serves to illustrate the status of the Kashmiri crafts person in the present day. This section also looks closely at the profile of the craftsmen interviewed and examines the nature of the interaction. This division has been done to allow information to be analysed from the historical perspective to understand the present status. Previous studies of crafts, reviewed in literature have not included the voices of its makers, Kashmiri crafts people have not been profiled or studied as stakeholders within this industry and this chapter attempts to fill this gap.

Gendered dimensions of craft have not been included here, however the processes and techniques traditionally followed in craft making by men are also used similarly by women crafts people of Kashmir, making this chapter relevant to the craftswomen in Kashmir. Innovation of techniques and any changes in processes are often led by male craft workers and imitated by women. The reasons for this one sided development lies in the experience and expertise in craft making that Kashmiri craftsmen have developed over many years of practising the craft. Women are new to this area of work and therefore prefer to follow previously established methods. This is discussed further in chapter six which looks exclusively at women craft workers.

The data collected for this chapter was analysed as subsets within the broad area of craft. Here secondary data gathered from literature reviews, coded as history has been used to inform about the past of the Kashmiri shawl industry. The main body of literature was derived through keyword searches for; India, shawl, cloth, Islamic textiles, colonial history, anthropology of culture, Kashmiri crafts, history of Kashmir, cashmere, Pashmina etc were done. Information was sought in journals for culture, south Asia, nomadic people, cloth and culture, world history, tourism, popular culture, material culture etc. References to seminal texts by curators of textile collections in Indian and British museum led to more texts. Textual works of relevance were also located in archives of the NGOs that were visited⁴². The literature review consists of studying prominent work in this area by Levi Strauss (1987), Ames (1997), Gordon (1996), Barker (1995), Gillow and Barnard (1993), Mathur (2004) and Pathak (2005). The most recently published book that was used is written by Rehman and Jafri (2006). This book has also been used as a source of images that are included at the end of this chapter. Primary data was gathered through fieldwork (2003-2006) and this was coded into two sub sets – processes/techniques and structure of business/industry, these have been used to inform about the present day practices of crafts in Kashmir.

This chapter includes analysis through observations and interviews conducted in various craft workshops that were visited in the fieldwork⁴³. The structure of the Kashmiri shawl industry derives from fieldwork (2003-2006) conducted at the Lucky Shawl

⁴² See Appendix 1.

⁴³ See Appendix 1

factory where the business structure was studied, this was then compared to other businesses in Zakora and Zoonimer and Hawal. Information about *Kaanhi* has been gathered from Kanhihama in Srinagar where workshops were observed. Information was validated through replication of findings. Data collected from literature reviews of process and techniques of making was mapped in the field to draw comparisons and notice shifts in patterns of making from the historical precedents. However the critical analysis of the structure of the Kashmiri shawl industry has no documentary precedent and is therefore empirical in its content.

4.1 A Brief history of the Kashmiri Shawl

The history of the shawl can be traced as far back as the times when the great Hindu epics were written. In the Ramayana, the Hindu Epic about the life of Lord Rama, Sita (Rama's wife) was gifted shawls by her father King Janaka (Mathur, 2004 p.12). In the Mahabharat, the people of Kamboj are said to have presented King Yudhishtir with costly shawls embroidered with gold thread. It is even mentioned that before the great battle of Kurukshetra, when Lord Krishna went as an emissary to the court of the Kauravas, the gifts of the blind king of the Kauravas, Dhritrashtra included ten thousand shawls of Kashmir (Mathur, 2004). Thus crafts were valuable to the people mentioned in the Hindu epics. As mentioned in the previous chapter, tradition of gifting has a long history.

'Kashmiri shawls were among the several gift items given by Sassanian King Bahram I (r.c. 273-276) to the Roman Emperor Aurelian (r.c.270-275) after the fall of Palmyra. These references indicate that 'high quality Indian textiles were in vogue with the Sassanian elite and were valued highly' (Pathak, 2005, p.10).

In earlier times, the shawl was essentially a male garment and the gift of a woollen shawl was a mark of respect. Traditionally Indian saints, sages and teachers were honoured with the presentation of a shawl. In their book on the shawl, Rehman and Jafri (2006) mention that the south Asian culture of gift giving was widely accepted as court protocol and was enforced in all formal exchanges between local nobility, the court and with foreign visitors. Mughal, Sikh, and all other princely states in colonial India

continued to observe this ritual even when the value of the objects they exchanged had declined and what they were exchanging was of symbolic value (Rehman and Jafri, 2006). For hundreds of years this custom of awarding robes of honour, or *khilat*, became one of the biggest motors to power the manufacture of expensive Kashmiri shawls and rich brocades. According to Barker, who wrote about Islamic textiles, *khilat*⁴⁴ derives from the Arabic word *khil'a* which means honorific gift, usually consisting of a costly garment or rich gift (Barker, 1995). According to Gordon (1996) the Arabic word first appears in the eight and ninth century in Indian history when the gifting of garments had become common and institutionalized, he believes that presentations of robes were known in Muslim courts of northern India and in the Hindu courts of Rajasthan. This was at least two centuries before Babur, who used *khilats* to reward allies, founded the Mughal Empire in 1526 AD. The Chak rulers of Kashmir (1554-1586) were also known to have used robes of honour or *khilat* as markers of royal privilege. This historic tradition is still alive today when honour is bestowed upon anyone; they are even now bestowed with a shawl and garlanded.

Over a period of time the exclusivity of the shawl as a garment worn only by males changed. Women also wore shawls for their functional value of warmth and also for their aesthetic appeal. The Kashmiri shawl soon became a fashionable item. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the shawls were being sold to Europe and fashions in Europe adopted the shawl as a vogue item (see Fig 4.5). Demand for Kashmir shawls was high and thus imitation of the shawls started in Paisley⁴⁵ in Scotland, Norwich in England and Lyons in France. The jacquard loom was used to imitate the twill tapestry weave of the Kashmiri Shawl⁴⁶. These jacquard looms can still be seen at the Paisley Museum in Scotland. This museum was a source of interesting textual information and

⁴⁴ For more details of *Khilat* see Gordon, S (2003) *Robes of Honour: Khilat in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India*. New York, Oxford University Press.

⁴⁵ It is interesting to note here that there remains a debate about the origins of the name Paisley. It is not known if the paisley design derives its name from the Scottish town, or if the Kashmiri paisley shawls being brought to Paisley gave it this name. This debate is outside the realm of this work.

⁴⁶ See Levi Strauss, M (1987) *The Cashmere Shawl*, London, Dryad for more details about changing European fashions that included the Kashmiri shawl as a prerequisite to a fashionable wardrobe, as well as the role of Josephine Bonaparte in the increase of popularity of the Kashmiri shawls in the late 18th and early 19th century.

historical documentation of shawl making in Paisley, however this information⁴⁷ is not directly related to this thesis and therefore has not been included here.

4.2 The Terminology of the word ‘Shawl’

‘Say the word “Shawl” and most people instantly think about Kashmir; the shawl and Kashmir are synonymous; and rightly so, for the finest of Indian shawls have always come from here. So towering is this tradition that it has overshadowed the shawls from other parts of the country’ says Mathur (2004, p.9). The term *shawl*, pronounced ‘shôl’ is derived from the Persian word *shal* that meant a fine woven woollen fabric used as a drape.

In 1623 the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle, observed that whereas in Persia the *scial* or shawl was worn as a girdle, in India it was more usually carried ‘across the shoulders’ (Pathak 2005). The origins of the shawl can be traced to the medieval period, archaeological findings, literary references and travellers accounts provide evidence of the existence of the woollen shawl in India to the Indus Civilization of 2700 – 2000 BC (Pathak, 2005, p7).

In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the annals of Emperor Akbar (ruled 1556-1605) reveal that his wardrobes were full of shawls; many others served as highly prized gifts. Akbar introduced the fashion of wearing Kashmir shawls in pairs, stitched back to back, so that the undersides were never visible (Gillow and Barnard, 1993). Akbar is known to have been interested in shawl and textile industry. The *Ain-i-Akbari* enumerates the four areas in which Akbar improved the shawls. This being the material used in the shawl, the colour of the wool, the manufacturing process and the techniques of improving dress material by weaving and embellishment. This embellishment and change in weaving is evident in present days shawl as well, where many varieties of weave designs as well as a whole range of embroidery styles, patterns and techniques can be seen.

⁴⁷ See Reilly, V (1989) *The Paisley pattern: the official illustrated history*, Glasgow, Drew; Clark, S (1988) *Paisley: a history*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing; Mackrell, A (1986) *Shawls, stoles and Scarves*, London, Batsford; Blair, M (1904). *The Paisley shawl and the men who produced it a record of an interesting epoch in the history of the town*. Paisley, A. Gardner

The weaving of twill tapestry shawls was first introduced into the valley from Turkestan by Zain-ul-Abdin, the ruler of Kashmir, in the 15th Century (Gillow and Barnard, 1993). Zain-ul-Abdin, also known as *Badshah* (great King) is credited with developing shawl production in the valley; he spent seven years in Samarkand and then came to Kashmir as the ruler. He sent Kashmiri artisans to Iran and Central Asia to learn how to produce the artworks of Islamic culture (Sharrad, 2004). These trained craftsmen came back to Kashmir and thus began the story of the Kashmiri shawl. The Mughal emperors were great patrons of crafts and thus the textile crafts of Kashmir thrived under the Mughal patronage and are said to have attained a level of excellence that was never surpassed (Gillow and Barnard, 1993). According to Carl von Hügel (1845), who visited Kashmir in 1836, Sultan Zain al Abidin, summoned a highly skilled weaver named Naghz Beg from Turkestan to build a loom for weaving shawls. Four centuries later, the weavers von Hügel wrote of, still laid flowers on their revered guru's grave; shawl weaving had by then become one of Kashmir's main sources of income (Levi-Strauss, 1987).

4.3 Changes to the Shawl by the Rulers of Kashmir

The Emperor Akbar's son Jahangir succeeded him on the Mughal throne. He too was interested in shawls. The text *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (1605-1628) mentions the shawl making process as well as mentions Jahangir saying, 'the shawls of Kashmir to which my father gave the name *paramnaram* are very famous: there is no need to praise them. Another kind is the *taharma* which is thicker than a shawl and soft' (Pathak, 2005, p.18). It should be noted here that the softness of the hand-spun wool is enhanced by the loose weave of the fabric and both contribute towards the overall softness of the shawl. The softness of the shawl depicts its quality, the higher the quality of the shawl, the more valuable it is. The relationship between value and quality of the shawl is discussed further on in this chapter.

Emperors Shahjahan (1628-1658) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707) followed suit of their predecessors and were patrons of the Kashmiri shawl industry. During this time the designs of the shawls and their colour combinations received attention and improvement. Designs of the shawl in terms of patterns and motifs changed. Flowers

became more formalized, more elaborate and were now starting to be grouped into vases, the leaves were also stylized and started to tilt at an angle (Mathur, 2004). The Mughal rule in Kashmir was followed by the Afghans (1707 – 1818) and then the Sikhs (1819 – 1846) followed by the Dogra rule till 1947. The Kashmir shawl industry flourished under royal patronage of the Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras.

The shawls changed in terms of size and colours with the passage of time, yet the techniques used for manufacturing them remained close to their origins as brought by Zain-ul-Abdin. These traditional techniques were recorded in detail by travellers and researchers and have well documented history. Publications by Sir Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir* (1996), John Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl* (1973), Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire – AD 1656-1668* (1989) are among the many pieces of work that mention and discuss the Kashmiri Shawl. The traditional techniques of manufacture have not changed much since then. The next section looks at the long-established techniques of manufacture of the Kashmiri shawl in order to derive comparisons for current practice.

4.4 The Traditional Techniques of Shawl Making

There exist two grades of wool – Shahtoosh and Pashmina. The superior quality of wool known as *Shahtoosh* comes from the Chiru, a Tibetan antelope (which is now banned as a yarn due to the hunting down of the animal for its wool)⁴⁸. Shahtoosh means the wool (toosh) worn by a Shah (king). This needs separate looms for weaving, as the Shahtoosh is finer than Pashmina, being nearly half the thickness of Pashmina and thus needs a loom with a closer shaft. The Shahtoosh fibre is about 5 Microns (Micron = 1/1000000 of a metre). This work focuses on Pashmina. "Pashmina" derives from the Persian word *pashm*, meaning finest wool fibre. The Pashmina shawl starts its life as the under fleece of the *Capra Hircus* or the Pashmina goat that lives in the high altitudes of Ladakh and

⁴⁸ Animal rights groups have claimed that the Chiru should be put on the list of endangered species, as it was being hunted down for its expensive fleece. Thus the Government of India has banned trade in goods made out of Shahtoosh. It is rarely made in Kashmir and the people who do work on Shahtoosh and understandably reluctant to talk about it. Therefore this work focussed on Pashmina and other types of wool used for shawl making.

Tibet (see Fig 4.6). The finest wool is found on the throat and belly of the goat, and is so fine, that it often has a width of ten microns that is 1 /6th the thickness of a human hair (Hardy, 2000). These goats are combed with a fine-toothed comb, which according to Hardy (2000) is similar to a lice comb. The process is not a particularly cruel practice nor is it that kind Hardy (2000). The wool from the *Capra Hircus* Pashmina wool was always imported from Tibet or Chinese Turkestan and was never produced in the Vale of Kashmir itself (Gillow and Barnard, 1993). In winter the wild goats (*Capra Hircus*), which are found on the high plateaus of Tibet and Central Asia, grow a soft layer of down on their underbellies, beneath their normal coat of longer and coarser hairs: this under fleece helps them to survive extreme cold at these high altitudes. When spring comes, the animals eliminate this extra layer of insulation by rubbing their bodies against the bushes and rocks. The local inhabitants gather the fleece shed in this way and sell it to the weavers in the Kashmir valley (Levi-Strauss, 1987).

The fleece was sold and distributed among the Kashmiri women who picked out the kemp or coarse, rough hairs and sort fleece into two different qualities before spinning it on the wheel (see Fig 4.7, 4.8 and 4.10). The superior fleece was reserved for the warp threads and for the finest shawls (being almost white it could be used just as it was or underwent dyeing to a light colour). The slightly coarser or greyish fleece was dyed and used for the weft (Levi-Strauss, 1987).

A majority of shawls in Kashmir were woven on a horizontal loom. They followed the standard weave pattern of two wefts interlaced with two warps. This technique is known as '2x2' (Fig 4.26) and is the most common and easiest weave for handloom made goods. In this case the loom is loaded with the warp thread, the shafts pick two warps at the time and the weaver would then sent a shuttle (Fig 4.11) across back and forth once to get two wefts in, this is then pushed or 'beaten' to the back and the warp is dropped and re-picked. This gives a very small square cross pattern to the fabric.

Kashmiri twill tapestry weaving used a separate weave design. Here men used a horizontal loom, two or three of them sitting side by side at the same loom. The women prepared the warps by doubling the thread, drawing it out while twisting it slightly.

Then came the turn of the warpers, the men who put the warp on the loom: anything from 2000 to 3000 warp threads were necessary for a 1.20m/ 47-inch wide shawl (see Fig 4.11). The vertical borders were woven on silk warp threads to give them more strength. The designer known as the *naqash*, decided on the pattern; the ‘colour caller,’ or *tarah-guru*, read the design from the bottom upwards and called out each colour in turn together with the number of warp threads under which the bobbin of weft had to pass. A pattern master known as the *talim-guru*, then wrote these instructions down using the traditional signs or ‘shawl alphabet’. The weavers kept this transcription, the *talim* (see Fig 4.36, 4.37) in front of them as they wove (Mathur, 2004). Two men would have to work at their loom for 18 months to make the average shawl, while a top-quality article would take three years to complete (Levi-Strauss, 1987). This shawl made by using the twill tapestry technique was known as the *Kaanhi Jamavaar* or *Kanikar* was traditionally made in Kanihaama in Srinagar⁴⁹ (see Fig 4.35, 4.44). This twill tapestry shawl weave was a complex process. In this technique the design on the shawl is woven on the loom itself (Fig 4.36) with a decorative weft pattern is formed by small spindles or bobbins of yarns known as *tojlis* (see Fig 4.38) for creating areas of colour, the edges of adjacent yarns interlocking around the same warp. The weft did not run the entire width of the shawl, only being used in the area where the particular colour was required. This type of loom did not require a shuttle and thus the weft was pressed down with a comb. Weaving a shawl in this way was a long and slow process.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as shawl designs became more complex, work on a single shawl was split between two or three looms, thus cutting the length of time taken to weave the whole shawl; and as the nineteenth century progressed and designs became yet more complex, production was split between even more looms. The woven pieces were then sewn together by a *rafugar*, (needle worker), with stitches so fine as to make the joints virtually invisible (Gillow and Barnard, 1993). This entailed the most meticulous repairs, known as “lost mending” since it had to be invisible when viewed from the right side. The men who performed this minutely detailed work were doomed to a total or partial loss of sight over the years due to the intricacy of the work involved (Gillow and Barnard, 1993). In order to help the warp threads to withstand the

⁴⁹ For *Kaanhi Jamaavar* see Ames, F (1997) *The Kashmir Shawl and its Indo French Influence*, Suffolk, Antique Collectors Club.

strain of being on the loom for so long, and to prevent them fraying, they were moistened at frequent intervals with a very thin rice flour paste; once the shawls were finished, they had to be washed to eliminate the starch and the resulting stiffness. This process is also currently followed in Kashmir where rice paste is used by warpers to give additional strength to the yarn for the process of weaving.

For washing and finishing, according to Thomas Vigne, who travelled to Kashmir in around 1840, the best water was that of the canal which links the Dal Lake to the Drogjan lock at Dal gate (*darwaaza*). There is a round hole in the limestone blocks of the wash-house, measuring one and a half feet across and a foot in depth; the shawl is placed in the bottom and while water is poured on to it from above, it is trampled with bare feet for five minutes. A man takes it to canal where he stands in the water and pulls it to and fro; he then slaps it hard against a flat stone. This last operation is repeated three or four times before the shawl is plunged into the canal water again, finally it is set to dry in the shade. According to Vigne (1844), it was something in the canal water that gave these shawls their ineffable softness (cited in Levi-Strauss, 1987).

The manufacture of shawls by such a lengthy and labour intensive process meant that the finished article was very costly indeed. An Armenian known as Khwaja Yusuf, who had come to Kashmir in 1803 as a buying agent for a Constantinople firm, introduced the concept of *amli*, or needlework shawl which could imitate the loom-woven shawl but would be much less expensive to produce and would escape the government duties levied on loom-woven shawls. This meant that instead of weaving an intricate design into the shawl, the design was now embroidered on top of a plain shawl. Between 1803 and 1823 the number of skilled embroiderers, who were also called *rafugars* rose from a handful to nearly 5000, this shift is an important part in the evolution of the Kashmiri shawl (Rehman and Jafri, 2006). Now, embroiderers could also start to use their creativity to embellish shawls as opposed to before where only a weaver's skill could create a good shawl.

The traditions and techniques have not changed much, and this is commented on by Rehman and Jafri (2006) as, 'More than 200 years later, the process of sorting, cleaning,

combing and spinning *Pashmina* has not changed since the time William Moorcroft recorded the shawl industry in the second decade of the 19th century. Exactly the same procedures and implements are still in use. The modes of transportation may have changed, the nature of dyes certainly has, as have the number of *Pashmina* blends that are now marketed, but the real *Pashmina* shawl industry seems to be caught in a time warp. Perhaps this is inevitable in the face of the social and economic conditions prevalent in the valley.’ (Rehman and Jafri, 2006, p.242)

It is interesting to note the mention of socio-economic conditions in the valley as a reason for the lack of development and change in the crafts; however the authors do not elaborate on the significance of this. This issue is relevant to this work and has been discussed later in chapter five.

Shawls today follow the same systems of making as they did many centuries ago. Processes are not different, techniques have not changed vastly, the importance of craft and the role it plays in the post conflict scenario might have changed, and these are covered in chapter five.

4.5 The Current Techniques of Shawl Making.

The rulers have long gone but the descendants of the weavers still live and work in the Valley of Kashmir, producing the same crafts that their ancestors made centuries ago. Financial support by the rulers of Kashmir, which promoted creativity and innovation, does not exist any more. Crafts men now manufacture to sell within the domestic and export markets where they face competition from machine made goods as well as other craft made goods. Here a closer look at techniques and processes has been undertaken to update current knowledge about crafts practices in Kashmir today. Techniques of manufacture are not very different from the ones that were first learnt by the weavers who were sent to Iran and Central Asia by Zain-ul-Abdin. Processes of spinning, weaving, dyeing, embroidery and finishing remain true to their origins. These processes were studied in the texts mentioned earlier and then compared through observations in Kashmir. This allowed me to verify data that I had read and also establish how processes might have changed in the current practice of craft. This is important as it

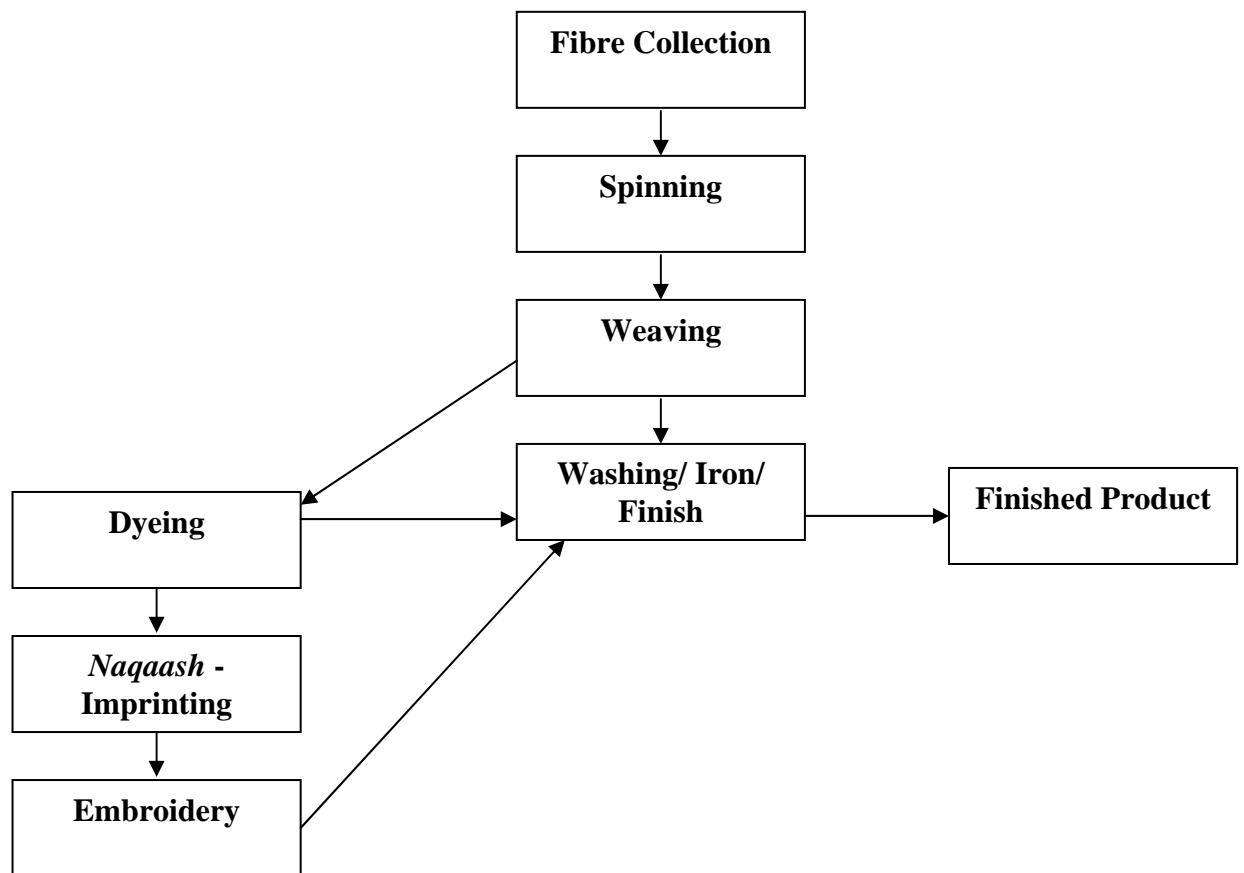
informs the research question about the current status of crafts. Observations were carried out in various workshops in Kashmir⁵⁰.

Shawl manufacturing is labour intensive and thus work is often done in a piece meal fashion, with each component of the process being done by a separate group of people who specialise in that component of the manufacturing cycle. There are no examples of a complete vertically integrated⁵¹ unit of production in Kashmir. The highest investment lies in the yarn and the weaving; this is where most businesses start. This is depicted in the flowchart, Fig 4.1, which marks out the broad stages of production of a shawl. The various stages of shawl making are discussed in the following section.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1

⁵¹ Vertically integrated here means that one business would be able to complete a shawl without outsourcing any labour processes, this means they would be able to spin, weave, dye, embroider, finish fabric and retail/ wholesale it.

Figure 4.1 Flowchart of Processes involved in making of a shawl



Fibre Collection and Spinning: As earlier the shawl begins its life as a collection of fibre from the goats. This fibre is collected and spun, sometimes in Ladakh⁵² (North-Eastern region of the Jammu Kashmir State). The fibre is so fine and delicate that machine spinning is not possible. This could be seen as one of the reasons for the endurance of the tradition of hand spinning and weaving. It is not possible to mechanise the spinning or weaving of pure Pashmina. The fibre length is short and fine, allowing for very slight twist to be given to it during the spinning process. The low twist of the yarn makes it soft to handle. Hand spun yarn is made into large hanks (Fig 4.8) by women. It should be noted here that the person who collects the fibre is sometimes different from the person who spins it and also the person who sells it (Fig 4.9). Thus it was seen that in continuing historical tradition the women in Kashmir are currently involved in the spinning of the yarn; the Pashmina fleece still comes from Ladakh and Tibet. It is the men who take over the process of shawl making after this step. Men do fabric finishing and marketing of shawls the weaving, dyeing, embroidery. This gendered aspect of the Kashmiri craft lends it a uniqueness that is rarely seen in other crafts across the world. Women make a majority of crafts across the world from the confines of their homes or workshops. There are few crafts that are solely made by men to the extent of exclusion of the women from any of the manufacturing processes, thus Kashmiri crafts seem to be an exception.

However this aspect of crafts has changed noticeably in the recent years with women now working within this sector. This significant change of manufacturing patterns and the increasing involvement of women in crafts shall be discussed at length in chapter six. Here the focus is on studying the shawl making processes currently being undertaken in Kashmir, here spinning continues to be a female dominated area of work.

Weaving: The hand spun hank loaded onto a horizontal loom (Fig 4.26, 4.27, 4.28) by warpers. Fine rice paste for strengthening yarn, which was traditionally used, is still

⁵² This trade of fibre which comes from Ladakh has a long history. This history and the politics of trade in Pashmina have a vast amount of literature written about them. See Ahmed, M(2004) The Politics of Pashmina – The Changpas of Eastern Ladakh, *Journal of Nomadic Peoples*, 8, 2 89-107. See also Maskiell, M (2002) Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and empires, 1500-2000, *Journal of World History*, 13, 1 27-66.

seen. The design of the weave is decided. Often the weave is decided on the basis of whether the shawl shall be embroidered or not. This is not really a point of design decision for the craftsmen, as most craftsmen work on commissions, which means that in most cases they have been told what to make. There is little experimentation with weaving, with most weavers and designers preferring to conform to traditional designs. When questioned about the lack of variety in the type of weaves found in Kashmir, most weavers attributed the lack of time and raw material for experimentation, as well as the possibility of not being able to sell the 'new' product as reasons for not trying anything 'new'. The shawls are woven as long rolls of fabrics called '*thaan*'. Each of these rolls contains 10-15 metres of fabric. While weaving the fabric, margins are left for trimming and finishing of the ends of the shawls into tassels.

The *Kaanhi* shawl continues to be made in the traditional way, though the use of the *talim* and the role of the *tarah-guru* have been diminished for reasons of economy. This shawl is now made by very few people, as it requires high investment in terms of time, labour and raw material and is a high value item which can be sold within a niche market only⁵³. There are few *Kaanhi* shawl weavers left in Kashmir, these were met in Kanihaama, Srinagar to understand how the shawl is made, the processes and techniques involved in making this shawl were observed. The horizontal loom with *tojilis* was seen here (Fig 4.39), it is as painstaking as it was in Abdin's time and technology has not intervened in this process at all. The designs of the shawl have not changed. The shawl still needs several months to make and a high level of skills to execute it.

Craftsmen were seen working on *Kaanhi* shawls individually as opposed to groups of two or three which was seen in earlier times. This means that each person makes a whole shawl; teamwork using the commands from a *tarah-guru* is no longer followed. This change of work from teamwork to individual responsibility was seen to have various impacts on the crafts men. In making individual pieces an element of ownership was observed of the craftsman over the shawl he made. The time period taken to weave one shawl is long, craftsmen showed dedication to completion of work as well as a

⁵³ Problems that arise from this in the post conflict scenario have been discussed in chapter five.

certain amount of attachment to the piece they were making. One workshop was seen to have two *Kaanhi* looms, while others seemed to have one loom only. Individual making of pieces also impacts payments, which means that remuneration for the shawl would not need to share with other contributors to the piece. However the most important impact of individual working was observed to be the loneliness involved in working for many months on the same piece. Craftsmen spoke about the camaraderie developed from shared working environments of the past when this craft was more popular. They also spoke about the presence of master craftsmen who do not work in this area anymore, as there is not enough work in terms of orders from businessmen. *Kaanhi* needs high financial investment and craftspeople do not have the ability to invest or the skills needed to sell the finished product. These and other limitations faced by crafts people have been analysed further in this chapter.

Rafugars also currently work in Kashmir, and their skills have evolved out of their traditional background of needle working. They now embroider shawls to enhance their appearance. Embroidery however is also a laborious and lengthy process, where each colour in the design of the shawl is executed separately. It is very fine work and when executed well can often look like a print due to its precision and delicacy.

Finishing: Once woven, the fabric is taken for the first round of finishing. Here the fabric is stretched taut across a wooden frame and is gently plucked of any imperfections that could have been caused in the weaving process (see Fig 4.22, 4.23). Knots, stray yarns, fine hairs that the loom did not catch are plucked off using a wide pair of tweezers with the cloth stretched taut over a wooden frame, both the surfaces of the shawl are treated to this plucking. These imperfections make dyeing easier and limit the scope of imperfections on surface of the shawls emerging after the dyeing has been done. In case of shawls that are left a natural shade and are not dyed, this process is even more important as dyeing does not hide imperfections on the surface. Here, there is no change from traditional methods of making and the same processes have been followed for many years now.

Dyeing: Woven shawls which are left in their natural colour are often pure Pashmina or blends of Pashmina with silk and might have an interesting weave design at the most. Most plain shawls allow the high quality of yarn used in them to speak for them and thus come with little embroidery. Traditionally dyeing used to be done using the fresh waters in the canals of Kashmir, which as mentioned earlier, were known to contribute to the dyeing process. Environmental damage caused by using the waters of the Dal Lake for washing and dyeing shawls has made it imperative for Kashmiri dyers to look for options. Natural dyes are no longer used on account of high cost of organic natural dyes. More professional methods of logging and recording colour components of a batch and safer dyeing techniques are used in Delhi as well as Amritsar, this has lead to Kashmiri shawl manufacturers to send shawls outside the valley to be dyed. However a vast amount of dyeing in Kashmir continues to be done by hand using hazardous chemicals.

The visits to dyeing houses in Srinagar showed people working with bare hands, boiling hot water and unsafe chemicals, with little attention paid to the ‘Danger’ signs on the boxes of the chemicals (see Fig 4.20, 4.21). Once dyed, they are washed and passed gently through mechanised heated rollers irons the shawls. This is yet another deviation from traditional methods where after dyeing shawls were left in the meadows to be dried by the sun. Currently when time and money both are short, a domestic iron is also used to iron out creases created by the dyeing process. After this process, the shawl is ready to be sold as a plain shawl. If the shawl needs embroidery, it shall travel to the *naqash’s* (imprinters) place straight after dyeing.

Naqaashi/ Imprinting: Here hand carved wooden blocks with designs on them are dipped in water based blue ink and printed on the shawls (Fig 4.12, 4.13, 4.14). These shawls are block printed for the benefit of the embroiderers. This process has several partners, there are those who shall dip the block in dye and imprint it on the shawl, here again varying degrees of skills are required, depending on what type of embroidery is needed. It is also important that the right amount of pressure is used for printing, as faded or blurred lines would confuse the embroiderer. The finer the embroidery, the more care needs to be taken in printing. These ink marks provide guidance in terms of

designs to be made on the shawl. The blocks on the other hand are made by a group of carpenters who have been trained to carve wooden blocks into fine designs, faint enough to be embroidered by a single line of thread. Imprints done by the *Naqash* are often made from chalk or diluted washable ink (See Fig 4.18). Chalk being used for dark fabrics and ink being used for light fabrics. It is important here to further qualify shawls made in Kashmir on basis of processes they undergo. The woven shawls which have no embroidery can be further classified into weave types, which include the plain weave (2x2), the twill weave, the *chashme bulbul* which is a lozenge shape weave commonly done with Pashmina wool and the twill tapestry technique known as the *Kaanhi* weave.

Embroidery: The embroidery takes the longest time in this cycle of production. It is done with fine yarns that could be silk or viscose in varying thickness. One length of yarn is used (without doubling) here. It is painstaking work; the work being so fine that the back of the shawl is very often similar to the front (Fig 4.16 - 4.19). Embroiderers often fill in one colour at a time, this means that the larger the number of colours on a shawl, the longer it has taken to make. Care has to be taken while embroidering so that the patterns that have been printed very lightly on the fabric do not get dusted or faded away due to hands brushing them off. One craftsman completes one shawl in totality as everyone has his own styles and techniques of embroidery. Businessmen often call this craftsperson's handwriting. Two shawls, with the same design imprinted on them done by two different craftspeople are generally different in appearance, based on execution of the embroidery. The skill and technique may vary in a very minute way, yet to the discerning eye, the embroidery looks different.

This is yet another point in the shawl making process where innovation in technology can be seen in the yarn that is used for embroidery, whereas previously silk was used for embroidery, the slow demise of the silk industry in Kashmir, has meant that silk is no more a locally available raw material. Silk is now imported from China and also from the South Indian State of Karnataka. The sericulture industry in Kashmir is virtually non-existent. A large number of embroiderers now use Viscose yarn, which has the same sheen and texture as silk and is often more colour fast and also cheaper. Thus

natural silk has been replaced by Viscose yarn or ‘art silk’ as it is commonly known, a stronger, shinier, longer lasting man-made fibre. Silk is used, but not as commonly as before.

The embroidered shawls can be broadly classified into those having a detailed all over embroidery also known as *jamavar* and the shawls which have various motifs spread across them which could include the buds (*boteh*), the paisley motif and the many other floral styles (Fig 4.41-43 and 4.45-48) used for embroidering wide borders or intricate all over patterns known as the *jaalis*. The Paisley pattern (Fig 4.34) is famous and has become almost a trademark of Kashmiri design. It is interesting to note that in parts of the Indian plains, the paisley is also known as the *ambi* pattern, which derives from the fact that the paisley pattern looks like a baby mango (*ambi*), however in Kashmir it is called the *baadam* design, which means the almond design. This was observed during meetings with the craftspeople where they mentioned the *baadam* pattern and upon reflection it emerged that the mango not being native to Kashmir would not be used as a name for the paisley pattern, however widespread almond cultivation would enable this design to be given a derivative Kashmiri title.

Once embroidery is completed, the shawl is washed again to remove any traces of the *Naqash*’s ink. Then passing through warm rollers irons the shawl (Fig 4.24, 4.25) and it is ready to be sold. This process embeds the embroidery into the woven fabric of the shawl. It is understandable that shawls that need embroidery as well as dyeing take longer to manufacture.

As mentioned earlier, there has historically been classification and division of labour in the crafts sector and people have specialised in specific areas in the manufacturing process. This segregation on the basis of skills used has led to the development of names and titles of people that have been in place since Zain-ul-abdin’s times. For example, the process of impressing motifs in chalk to prepare a template for embroiderers to work on, known as *Naqashi*, is also a common surname in Kashmir. Naqash is one of the many traditional family names that have emerged from the profession. This concept of family name being indicative of profession is not exclusive

to Kashmir and can be commonly observed in other parts of India, where names like Munshi (accountant), Kumhar (potter), Hakim (doctor) can be seen. This sharing of name which are derivatives or representative of profession is seen in other parts of the world as well in names such as 'Smith', 'Dyer', 'Cartwright' which are indicative of the profession of a person are a common phenomenon. However, in the context of Kashmir it is reflective of the state of the society, where in most surnames that are profession related are associated mainly with the crafts industry.

As observed the process of manufacture of the Pashmina shawl has not changed much over the ages. Changes in dyeing techniques and the use of viscose for embroidery stand out as the major changes in the shawl making process. While this change might appear insignificant in the immediate, in the long term this change is of significance. A change in dyeing techniques has wide spread implications on the environment and the product itself. Consumer awareness of impact of poor quality dyes on the health of the wearer has increased. This risk to health is regulated by export policies as well. Kashmiri crafts people who showed an interest in improving products in order to be able to export need to be made more aware of this. Silk and the decline of its use within embroidery is yet another significant change. Sericulture in Kashmir was a thriving industry, however a lack of institutional support (according to bureaucrat in J&K Handloom Development Commission) and the long-standing conflict have created a decline in this. During fieldwork (2006) I was informed about the fact that Kashmir imports silk⁵⁴ from Karnataka and in 2005 dialogue was being held between traders and the government about importing silk from China. This is indeed an important shift in Kashmiri crafts, which is worth observing. Locally available raw materials were one of the important factors for the growth and popularity of crafts in this region. Importing these from outside the state changes the flavour of home grown crafts – craftspeople, businessmen and also bureaucrats pointed this out.

This section provided a close view of the lengthy process that shawls go through before they are ready to be sold. It is important to understand this as the intensive time and labour required to make shawls is an essential characteristic of the Kashmiri shawl. This

⁵⁴ Silk is more important to the carpet making industry that uses large quantities of this raw material. A shift in procurement patterns has a heavier impact on this craft.

section informs the research about the continuity of traditional systems of manufacture and enables the development of an in depth understanding of this sector as it exists in the current time.

4.6 Profile of the Craftsmen and Nature of Interaction.

This section profiles the craftsmen and throws light on their identities. Few documents exist that discuss Kashmiri craftsmen and their identities and the products they make often overshadow them. As their voices form the core of this work, it was important that their profile be created to build a picture of them and to understand how interactions with them took place this forms part of the methodology employed for gathering primary data.

Craftsmen were interviewed in groups and as individual members on a one-to-one basis in separate locations so as to avoid open ended questions and conversations from being ‘hijacked’ by any businessmen that might be present or also any more vocal or articulate crafts people, the justification for this has been included as a reason for validating data in the methodology chapter. It should be clarified here that a majority of crafts men interviewed were involved in textile crafts. To understand crafts as an area of work, some peripheral voices of crafts people working in other crafts like *numdah* and *gabba* makers – floor coverings made by felting and embroidery, have also been included in places. The crafts men were humble and often very shy men of varying ages, 17 – 54 years old men. Most of these men were quiet and spoke in soft voices. Conversations were held in a mixture of Urdu, Hindi and Kashmiri. Due to their religion none of the crafts men drank any alcohol, though the *Hooka* that comprises of a long stemmed pipe, a glass base where water is filled for smoke to pass through, was commonly seen in the workshops. In Kashmir this is called the hubble-bubble. Smoking of this as well as the chewing of tobacco was commonly seen in the Kashmiri crafts people.

Initial hesitation on their behalf was overcome by conversations about the yarn they use and the techniques they prefer to use, this enabled them to talk about familiar objects and issues and created a starting point for conversations. Once the respondents were at

ease, a steady banter started. Soft spoken and reserved, most people initially spoke only when spoken to. Voluntary comments and questions surfaced only after a sustained period of contact.

Interaction with craftsmen revealed that most of them had rudimentary education and most were being paid a basic minimum wage. Quite a few crafts people interviewed were young men and had dependant children, women and older family members living with them. All crafts men were Muslim and attended the mosque regularly, however no conversations or discussions about religion were held during interactions⁵⁵. They were very aware of the politics of the region. They did not reveal their political alignments and ideology though they did admit that they had lost a great deal to the conflict in terms of money and death and disappearances of loved ones.

Most crafts people were interviewed in workshops that consisted either of a wooden or cement and brick room with large windows for light and some form of floor covering. The rooms were not furnished with anything apart from some worn out cushions or reed mats. Shoes and other footwear is not allowed into this room as seating is on the floor which is typical to Kashmir. This sparse environment is sometimes kept warm with a *bukhaari* (a wood burning stove, with a flu attached to one of the walls). In the absence of a *bukhaari* crafts people have small wood burning stoves in far off corners of the room. Working with fabric, sometimes in a wooden house, creates a potential fire hazard of which crafts people are very aware. They work by the natural light from the windows, filament bulbs suspended from the roof or a table lamp; the last two being of little use with intermittent power supply in the region. There are few indoor toilets and crafts people need to walk to the nearest public toilets when needed. They carry homemade food in metal boxes to work. Sometimes a local teashop is used for *Kahwa*, the Kashmiri green tea and *shirmaal* (locally baked Kashmiri biscuits). A few homes were visited which comprised of single room accommodation, space dedicated to weaving by the placement of wooden weaving looms at one end of the room (Fig 4.26 - 4.28). These homes have a constructed toilet and also a basic kitchen that comprises of a

⁵⁵ This contrasts with crafts women and the role religion plays in their lives and has been discussed in chapter six.

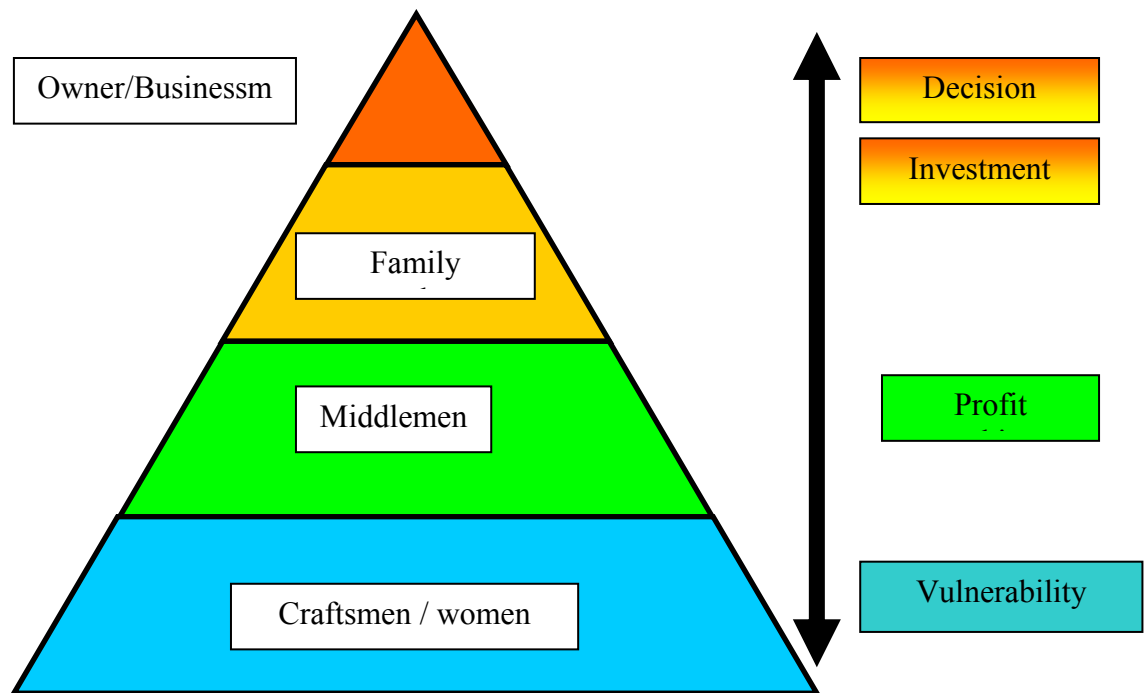
tap and a stove, with utensils piled tidily into the corner when not in use. This accommodation is often rented.

These simplistic conditions in which most of the craftspeople live and work are also not unique to Kashmiri crafts however they highlight the irony that producers of high quality, expensive Pashmina shawls, work in very basic conditions. Despite their poverty and sparse conditions of living they proved to be warm guests and during each observation and interview I was served numerous cups of tea and *shirmaal*. These conditions of work reflect on the continuity of crafts practice in the long run. Hardships of low pay, unemployment, combined with a very basic work environment could possibly cease to be conducive to prospective crafts people in the future. These conditions were put in context with the large revenue generated by crafts and large number of people employed in crafts reveals the scale of disparity and social exclusion faced by these crafts people and the conflict has exacerbated this.

4.7 The Structure of the Shawl Industry – a Critical Perspective

The Kashmiri shawl industry can be fashioned on a pyramid with the businessmen on top, the middlemen in the middle and the craftsmen at the base (Fig 4.2). The movement of money and orders is from the top to the bottom. A typical Kashmiri shawl company is family owned and run.

Figure 4.2 Structure of Kashmiri Crafts Businesses



This section critically examines the structure of the Kashmiri craft industry from the perspective of the crafts people. It includes viewpoints of the crafts people and provides a critique in order to understand the implications this structure has on the craft traditions in the valley. This critique was emerged from data in the later stages of research and was replicated in the field when a rapport had been established with the crafts people being observed and interviewed. This rapport was necessary to facilitate an open exchange of ideas without the craftspeople feeling vulnerable about the information they were giving to me. The code of ethics as mentioned in the methodology section was applied here as I was asked to maintain confidentiality of respondents.

The Businessmen: Male members of the family hold most managerial positions. Female members of the household might be inactive business partners on paper and have a share in the business however they do not play any role in the running of the business⁵⁶. The management is top down with owners on top, middle management consisting of family in the middle and the artisans coming at the bottom. The business is authoritarian with centralised decision-making and controls in hands of the owner. These owner/managers are often in the craft business that their forefathers established and have learnt their skills as young apprentices. They are familiar with the workings of the business as well as the crafts people who work for them. The businesses are passed down the generations between father and sons. This inheritance of business and typical structure of the business was studied at Lucky Shawl factory. Businessmen, here refers to those who own and run their own businesses and sell through retail outlets owned by others, they also sell through traders and wholesalers. Most businessmen rarely own a retail outlet to directly sell their products.

Shawl businesses outsource most components of the production cycle. Thus from the start there is intensive division of labour and the industry works as clusters of manufacturing. Most often there are small set ups which specialise in one part of the process for example *naqashi* or design imprinting, weaving and dyeing. Thus these people are hired or contracted to work on orders placed by various businesses. The owner chooses the colours of the shawl and the dyer completes the finishing and dyeing. The business owner might make the designs that need to be imprinted for embroidery. This means that all design decisions about weaving, dyeing and embroidery are taken mainly by the manager/ owner of the business. Other participants in the shawl manufacturing process execute decisions made by the owner.

The Middlemen: In most cases business owners are aware of groups or clusters of workers who would be paid per shawl for the embroidery they do. If located in a remote place, the businessman would use the help of a middleman to establish contact with the

⁵⁶ This was seen in the case of Lucky Shawl factory, where Salam-udin Naqash was the owner, he had inherited this company from his father Saif-udin Naqash, who had established it in 1950. Naqash's two sons, M.M. Naqash and M. Naqash were the managers of this company, and also respondents for this fieldwork. Mr Naqash's wife, Rayhaana was a partner in the company, though did not play any role in its running.

crafts people, this is commissioning. Alternatively he would contact them himself. A majority of businessmen were seen placing orders with middle men, who then give the orders out to independent crafts persons and supply them with raw materials needed to complete the pieces. Once completed, these pieces go back to the middlemen who in turn take them to the businessmen. The middlemen charge commission from the businessmen and this is where the major profits of the business by pass the makers of the crafts. Crafts men feel heavily reliant on the middlemen and businessmen to help them survive. This meant that they are often forced to sell their finished goods at lower prices to the middlemen and thus profits from the business do not filter down to them. They understood that their skills were very good, yet they were aware that they knew nothing about selling or improving their earning ability.

Middlemen here refer to free lance traders of sorts, who have a network of contacts within the business community as well as the craft maker's community. They are fairly mobile and often know which product could be sourced from which location and are fairly good at judging the price of work involved as well as the price at which the final product would be sold, this amount can vary greatly. These middlemen are well informed about the structure and processes of the industry, yet own no skills in making or trading, however their role is mainly that of a salesman. They provide a service to the crafts industries by using this disconnect that lies between businessmen and craftsmen to their advantage.

Weaving is often commissioned out to craft people who work in workshops in various parts of Srinagar. Yarn, which has been hand spun is provided to the weavers in hanks and they proceed to weave the shawls on handlooms, crafts people are paid for the entire roll of fabric, known as the *thaan*. Weaving is a slow laborious process and any mistakes made cannot be undone easily. This requires concentration as well as good quality lighting to enable to weavers to see intricacies of the weave as well as prevent them from making mistakes. Most workshops have electricity, which is in the form of a filament bulb suspended from the ceiling. However not all home based weavers had electricity and some worked by natural light or by using kerosene powered lamps.

Embroidery is also done on a commission basis. Research indicated that most embroidery on Pashmina was done in district Srinagar and Ganderbal⁵⁷. Embroiderers often work in groups of 5-15 people in a workshop. The businessman often supplies raw materials needed for work though instances of local procurement of raw materials by craftsmen themselves were also seen. The businessmen often refund this cost to the craftsmen when the completed pieces are delivered to them. Embroidery needs intricate working and takes a long time to complete, thus payments are made in advance to the embroiderers. As they come in to pick up woven shawls, they are given an advance payment that also acts as a deposit for the work they would do, as they finish pieces they return them to the businessman and receive more payments for the rest of the shawls that may still be working on. Such a system where payment is made in instalments to the craft man over a period of time enables him to sustain himself and his family as he works on intricate shawls.

Craftspeople had no individual portfolios of design or even a collection of drawing for their own records, despite some of them having over 15-20 years of experience of working in this field. This is a stumbling block for them as it allows their skills and abilities to be judged by other businessmen only by word of mouth. This yet again is seen as a control mechanism, wherein a negative report or information about a specific craftsman, passed on from businessman to businessman could render a crafts person unemployed. Not having a sample of their work to speak for them leaves them highly disadvantaged.

Critical analysis of the business structure reveals that the control mechanisms that impact the decision-making are all centred on the owner/ manager of the craft company. This not only leaves the craftsperson's more vulnerable to financial changes in the business it also disconnects them from having a stake in the crafts making sector. This structure disenfranchises the crafts people. Challenging or changing this structure would be tough due to its historical standing as well as the concentration of power and wealth

⁵⁷ Other parts of Kashmir such as Shopian and Magham are also famous for their embroidery. Magham, which is a part of the Budgam district, is known as an embroidery hub as they work on all types of materials such as wool, wool mixes, viscose as well as Pashmina. Here embroidery is done on home furnishings, shawls, scarves, *rumaals*, which are large square handkerchiefs, used mainly in the Middle Eastern countries as headscarves for men and women.

in the hands of a few people. More democracy within this business structure could possibly enhance the status of the crafts people and promote morale and motivation levels and also self-respect amongst crafts people.

This disenfranchisement is relevant to note as it leads to crafts people's lack of self-esteem, instability of income, and restricts the growth of the crafts people. Design as an imposition that curbs creativity could be detrimental to the progress and growth of the crafts persons. This was observed and mentioned by some crafts people. These men spoke about their desire to create, they were highly skilled at executing embroidery, but felt frustrated that they did not have the chance to explore designs. However the need to earn and income surpassed the need to find an employer who would allow them to explore and experiment with design. This leads to one of the negative aspects of Kashmiri shawl design, which have been discussed further in chapter five.

Discouragement to crafts due to vested interests of the businessmen who also act as middlemen in the exchange and sale of craft made goods was a common problem pointed out by the crafts people as well as the Governor of J&K. These middlemen according to the Governor are keen to confine the crafts into a cottage industry thereby making themselves indispensable to the craftspeople and preventing the industry from growing⁵⁸. Crafts people complained about their lack of involvement in the decision making process of design and development, pricing and selling. Kak has noted this, 'the business sector is primarily interested in the making of more money for its owners: artisans are relevant only as long as their skills produce golden eggs' (Kak, 2003, p.3). Middlemen who act as buying and selling agents; usurp profits from the trade, leaving crafts people vulnerable as. Similar problems due to the middlemen taking a large chunk of the profits in the crafts was faced by Rabari women of Gujarat, who make the unique *Kacchhi* (from the Kutch region in India) embroidery (Frater, 2003) thus the problem is not unique to the Kashmiri crafts alone.

The problem of middlemen eating into the profits of the crafts people was noticed in the Maltese Islands too, this problem according to Markwick arises from the highly

⁵⁸ Personal Interview, G.C.Saxena, Governor, Jammu and Kashmir, 17 February 2003, Jammu

fragmented production units Markwick (2001). Middlemen here could be seen as an impediment to equitable profit sharing and empowerment of crafts people. As Markwick (2001) suggests, these agents grow out of the disorganisation of the sector and thrive on the disconnected means of producing crafts. The solution to this could possibly be reorganisation of the business structure. However this solution would seem simplistic in light of the discussion of the business structure, its history and the reasons for its tenacity that were included in chapter four. This research does not aim at providing a solution here, however it attempts to bring to light the usurping of profits that middlemen in Kashmir continue to do. It is an issue, which was brought forth by craftspeople and has pre-existed since before the conflict. Hence it could be seen as a persistent problem that needs further investigation.

Income: The intricacy of weave and contents in terms of yarn used in the shawls determines how much the embroiderer is paid per piece. The payment varies according to the expertise and experience of the embroiderer. A younger apprentice might not be able to command the same price for this work that a master craftsman might. Pay scale and wages were discussed and information gathered from businessmen about pay was cross-referenced with the craftsmen to verify it. Fig 4.3 indicates the remuneration given in relation to the craftwork done. These prices though debated by the craftsmen, in Srinagar (August 2004) for being too high were on an average agreed upon by most of them. They did believe that they could earn this sum if the right businessmen approached them. The figures here have been averaged out from the responses received from six different businessmen and then validation of these figures by cross checking with crafts men in various workshops. This data is empirical, as wages paid/earned in Kashmir for craftwork have not been documented. Historical documents often mention the crafts people being poor, however they don't mention what income they earned from working on craft made objects.

Figure 4.3 Remuneration scales as determined by embroidery and fabric type

Shawl type	Embroidery Type	Price Paid (Rupees)	Equivalent value £ (2006)⁵⁹
Shahtoosh	Border	Rs 13 -14,000	£160 - £170
	Jamavaar	Rs 40 – 50,000	£488 - £610
Pashmina	Border	Rs 3000 - 4000	£36 - £48
	Jamavaar	Rs 20 – 25,000	£244 - £305
Wool	Border	Rs 500 – 600	£6 - £7
	Jamavaar	Rs 3000 - 3500	£36 - £42

The exception to these types of shawls is the *Kaanhi Jamavar* that is made by a twill tapestry technique and takes over a year to make. These shawls retail at prices of Rs 500,000 to Rs 800,000 (£6100.00 - £8546.00) depending on the material used. In most cases it is Pashmina mixed with wool. Shahtoosh shawls are no longer made, but when Shahtoosh was used for making *Kaanhi* it was one of the most expensive shawls in the market. The wage a worker of *Kaanhi* is paid varies between Rs 60-70,000 per piece (£732 - £854), which would be his annual income. This information was sought from businessmen who trade in *Kaanhi* and was then validated through interviews with *Kaanhi* weavers in Kanhihaama, Srinagar.

The Muslim community in Kashmir, and also elsewhere in India, has a tradition of marrying within their own families, thus first cousins and second cousins are often married to each other. This is significant here because if there are no male heirs to the family business often the son-in-laws who are closely related to the family, take over the business. This ensures continuity of business as well as enables the wealth generated from the business to remain within the family. This is relevant to note as any changes to the craft business structure could also have an impact on personal lives of the people who own businesses. This partly illustrates the reasons for the rigidity of the business structure and also reflects on the unchanged continuity of this traditional system through many years of trade. This yet again manifests on the crafts people and reveals the potential impact that this apparent lack of movement within the structure industry can

⁵⁹ Source: www.xe.com Rate £1.00 (GBP) = Rs 81.00 (INR) 10/03/2006 figures.

have on them. Thus craft is not just an area of employment; it is a way of life and any changes could have a long-term impact on the personal lives of businessmen and crafts people. This is important as it adds yet another dimension to the role crafts play in the lives of the people of Kashmir.

The centralised family owned and run structure means that there is a close relationship between the craft workers and the owners, as they would have known each other for a long time. Often the sons of the owner would know the craftsmen by face and name, thus a relationship is built between them over the years, this was observed in interviews done over a period of time in Srinagar. This familiarity might be preferable to most craftsmen who would rather see a familiar face than have an unknown external middle management. However as fieldwork (2003-2006) interviews revealed, some craftsmen knew that they would not get along with a particular manager but nothing could be done about it as this manager would eventually become the owner and would have complete authority over all decisions within the business. Observations revealed that in extreme cases of incompatibility, which are not uncommon, it leaves the crafts people no choice but to look for employment elsewhere. On the economic level this structure enables concentration of wealth and profits in hands of few creating an inequity in wealth and income generated through craft work, which in the long run could cause wider divisions in society and disengagement of the various players in the industry from each other.

On rare occasions a craftsman might be able to design some new embroidery; he might approach the businessman with this. If approved he shall be able to sell this piece to the businessman or he might get an order for doing the same work on shawls that the manufacturer might give him. It was observed that any promotions or recognition within the business is based on family relations and not personal achievements, thus there is little incentive for the crafts persons to produce new ideas. This well-demarcated difference between management and production, with few opportunities for a cross over could be seen as a promotion of a class system of sorts. This works negatively as it can be seen as de-motivating for workers. Observations in the field revealed that both crafts people and businessmen are aware of this division. Craft people mentioned the 'us' and 'them' distinction, where their professional work and thereby lifestyle choices, created a

division in society. This is interesting to note as it brings forth the high level of disenfranchisement that the craftsmen suffer from at each stage.

It is also important to note here that flexibility of employment, where no one person is a full time employee of any one business, works in two ways. On the one hand it means that the crafts people are free to move around and get more work from several different businesses, which is a positive outcome in some ways as it leads to empowerment at some levels. This also leads to labour movement within the confines of Kashmir and also sometimes outside the region. On the other hand, it also means that the fluidity of this work force enables newer people to join in as labour. Since there are no hard and fast rules or terms of employment and work, in terms of contracts, notice period etc, anyone who feels they would like to resort to craft production for earning an income can do so. This creates competitiveness to receive orders, pushing the level of skills further up yet leaves pay and wages susceptible to bargaining, dependent on the conditions of the market.

There is complete dependency of craftspeople on the businessmen and middlemen to sell products. This means that crafts people have no control over their financial futures. This vulnerability has not gone unnoticed by the craftsmen who were interviewed as they mentioned that during good times, by which they meant situations where there was a high number of orders from shawl businesses, they had a lot of work to keep them busy but their lack of permanent employment means that in lean periods, they would have few sources of income. A lack of knowledge of markets and concept of trading defines this limitation of the crafts people. This also meant that when the businessman struggled with the markets, the repercussions were felt more intensely by the crafts man, this is due to smaller orders, therefore lesser money.

This section illustrated the changes that have occurred in shawl making over a period of time. These changes are not a positive aspect of craft making, showing relative lack of awareness of matters related to health and safety of the workers as well as ethics and environmental issues. Literature searches about the contemporary structure of the Kashmiri shawl industry revealed a gap in documentation. This section has attempted to

rectify this by providing not only a detailed description of the industry but also by providing critique of each aspect of this structure from the perspective of the crafts person. These issues that arise out of the structure of the industry are applicable and relevant to women crafts workers of Kashmir as well (See chapter six).

4.8 Conclusion

Craftsmen in Kashmir were seen to possess a very high skill level in shawl making. Their products are sold in many parts of India and are also exported. However they remain at the bottom of the pyramid of manufacturing, with little ability to grow in their chosen professions and a high level of disengagement with the entire process. They could be seen as essential components in craft making but their role within this industry is only limited to their executing products, their choice of profession has not led to the betterment of their lives. Critical analysis would indicate that a long-standing tradition of craft making would in the long-term benefit the crafts people and allow them to play a more dynamic role in the industry by being more participatory. However they remain disengaged with the decision-making within the industry. This study was executed from the perspective of the crafts people who have not been analysed within any documents that exist about Kashmir. This thesis questions the status of crafts in Kashmir and by studying the craftsmen and their status informs the research question to some extent.

This chapter hopes to serve as bridge between pre-conflict and post-conflict crafts of Kashmir. It attempted at answering the research question by studying the current status of Kashmiri crafts from a structural and procedural perspective as well as by studying the power ratios that exist in the Kashmiri crafts industry. In studying the business structure and processes of craft making in Kashmir, this research has filled a gap in the knowledge about current craft practices in Kashmir. While the profile of the crafts men and the critique included here of the current systems of practice from their perspective add to the field of knowledge that exists about the crafts of Kashmir. The following chapter, which looks at conflict and politics, provides the setting for understanding the conflict and its impact on Kashmiri crafts thereby responding to another aspect of the research question.

The conflict in Kashmir was the start of new phase in the history of the crafts of Kashmir. Up till this point the crafts of Kashmir had seen halcyon days of trade through court patronage, entrepreneurship and tourism, and were a thriving area of business in Kashmir. The conflict brought with it death, disappearances, despair, shrinking markets, limited investment, a shrinking economy and ultimately unemployment and migration for the Kashmiris. Understandably the focus of the government machinery was on security of the region during this period. The next chapter looks at the conflict in Kashmir, its history, its nature and the impact on Kashmir.



Figure 4.4 Painting, 19th Century Dogra Chief Wearing Shawl



Figure 4.5 Painting, Madame Philibert Riviere wearing a Kashmir Shawl, late 18th Century



Figure 4.6 *Capra Hircus*, the Pashmina Goat



Figure 4.7 Pashmina Goats in Ladakh, Combing the Fibre, Weighing Fibre, Scales used for Weighing Fibre, Combing of Fibre, Removing impurities in fleece



Figure 4.8 (Clockwise from top left) Spinning, Hank of Yarn, Heddle, Pashmina trader, Hanks of yarn in natural shades



Figure 4.9 Pashmina Trading in Srinagar

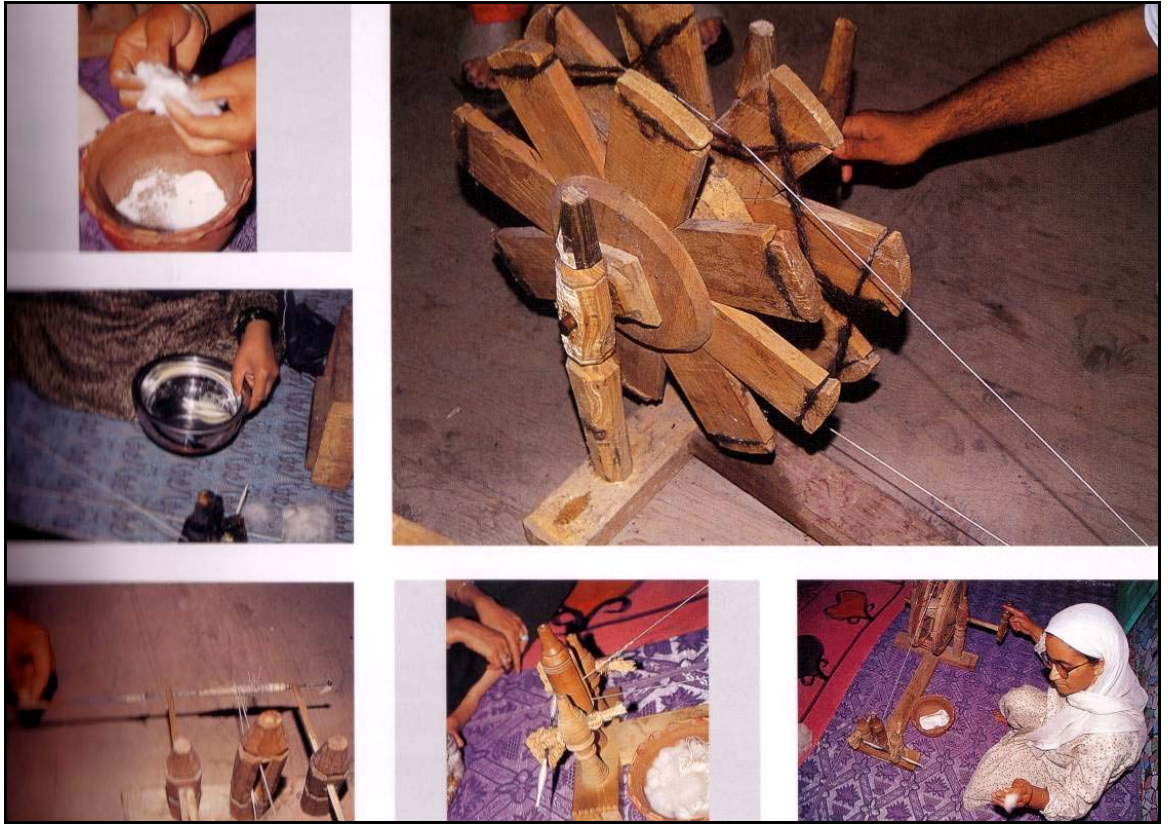


Figure 4.10 (Clockwise from Top left) Removing impurities from fleece, Spinning of Pashmina, Woman Hand spinning Yarn, detail of spinning wheel, Bobbins for collecting yarn



Figure 4.11 (Clockwise from Top left) Pashmina Warp, Weaving in progress, wooden slats for changing tension of yarn during weaving, checking for imperfections in weave, removing imperfections from weave, Shuttles



Figure 4.12 Naqash's handmade wooden blocks for imprinting, Srinagar



Figure 4.13 Naqash Workshop with large collection of printing blocks, Srinagar



Figure 4.14 Naqash making Imprints while two apprentices watch, Srinagar



Figure 4.15 Close up of Naqashi on shawl, Srinagar (Fieldwork January 2003)



Figure 4.16 Craftsmen's Group, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.17 Embroidery on Pashmina, craft workshop, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.18 Embroidery on Pashmina, white chalk naqashi imprint on chashme bulbul weave, craft workshop, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.19 Embroidery on Pashmina, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.20 Dyeing using chemicals, dyeing workshop, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.21 Dye Store containing hazardous chemical dyes, dyeing workshop, Srinagar



Figure 4.22 Removing imperfections from surface of shawl, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.23 Fabric being plucked to remove imperfections before Dyeing, Srinagar



Figure 4.24 (Left to right from top) Removing imperfections from weave to prepare fabric for dyeing, dyeing and washing on the river side, rinsing dyes, colour charts, dyeing fabrics, wringing, roller press to finish, rotating roller beds, treating yarns



Figure 4.25 Ironing plain woven fabric after Dyeing, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.26 Weaving Pashmina at home in Zoonimer, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.27 Weaving Pashmina at home in Kanihama, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.28 Weaving Pashmina at home in Kanihama, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.29 Loom Woven and Embroidered Shawl, early 1970s



Figure 4.30 Details of antique Long *Kaanhi* Shawl, mid 19th Century

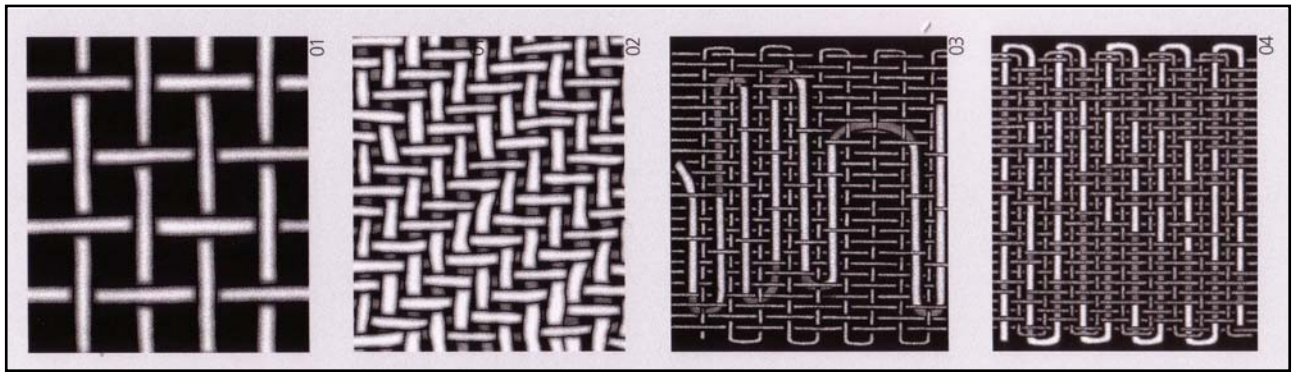


Figure 4.31 Kashmiri Shawl Weave Designs

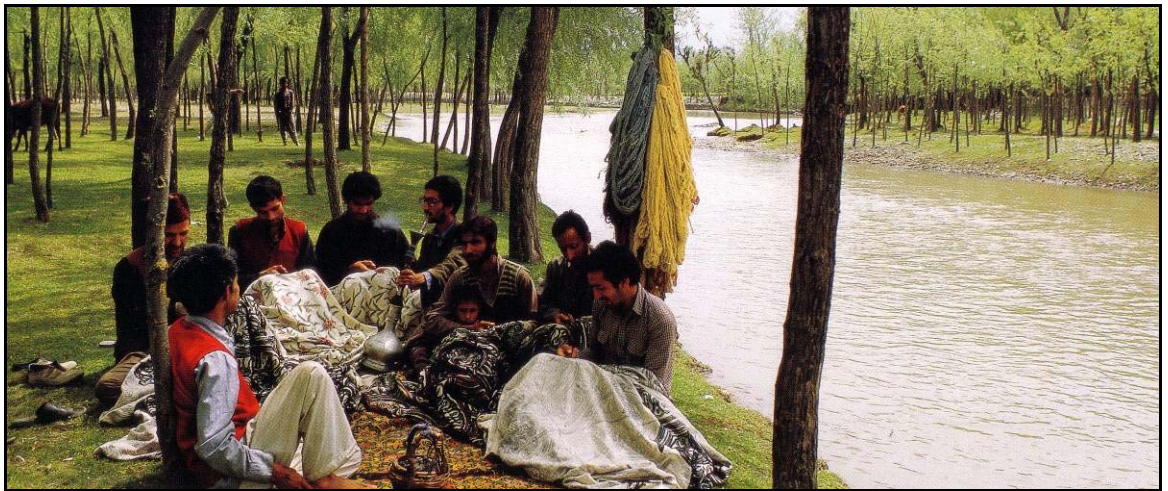


Figure 4.32 Kashmiri crewel embroiderers working outdoors



Figure 4.33 Detail of contemporary Kashmiri Rezkar Embroidery

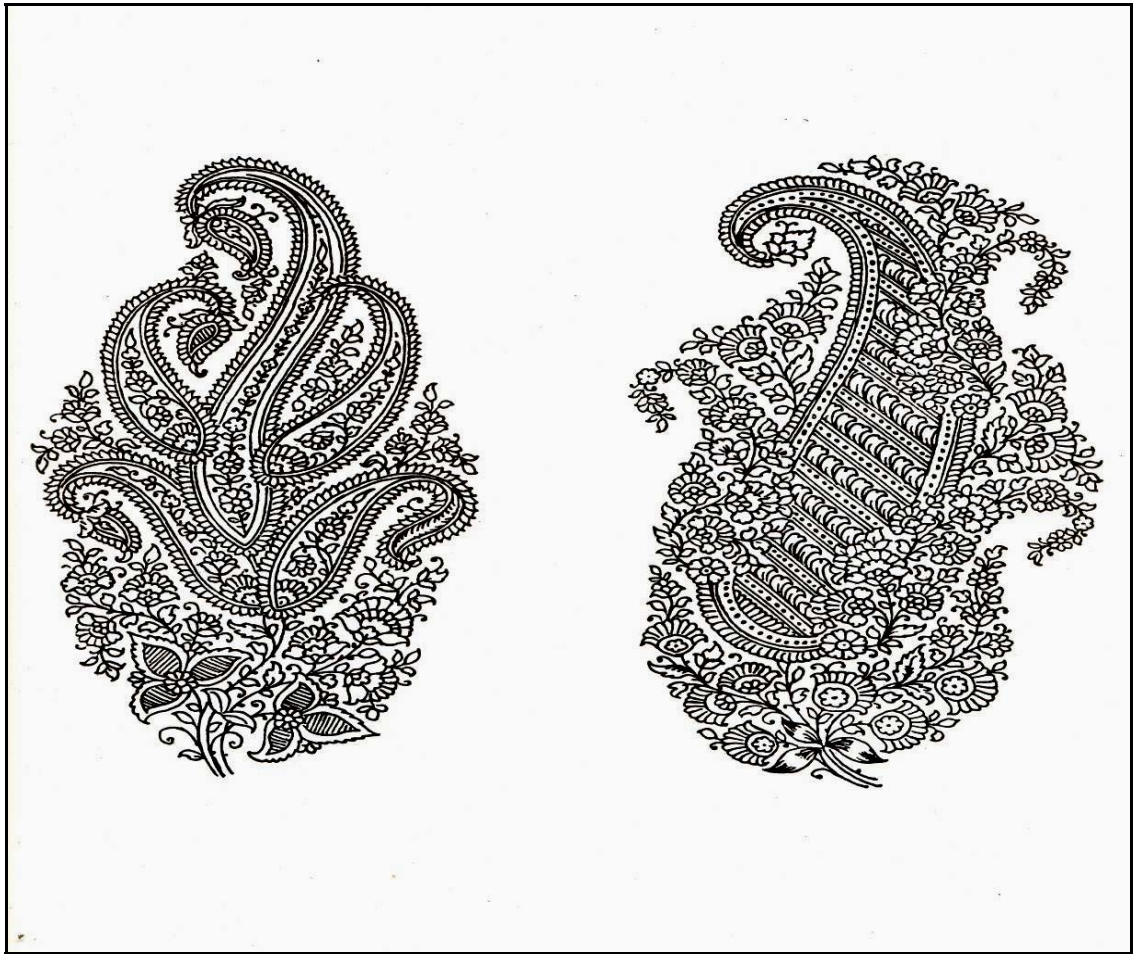


Figure 4.34 Paisley Designs from Kashmir



Figure 4.35 Antique *Kaanhi* Jamavar made with Pashmina, early 20th Century



Figure 4.36 Contemporary *Kaanhi* Jamavar Loom, Talim and Graph

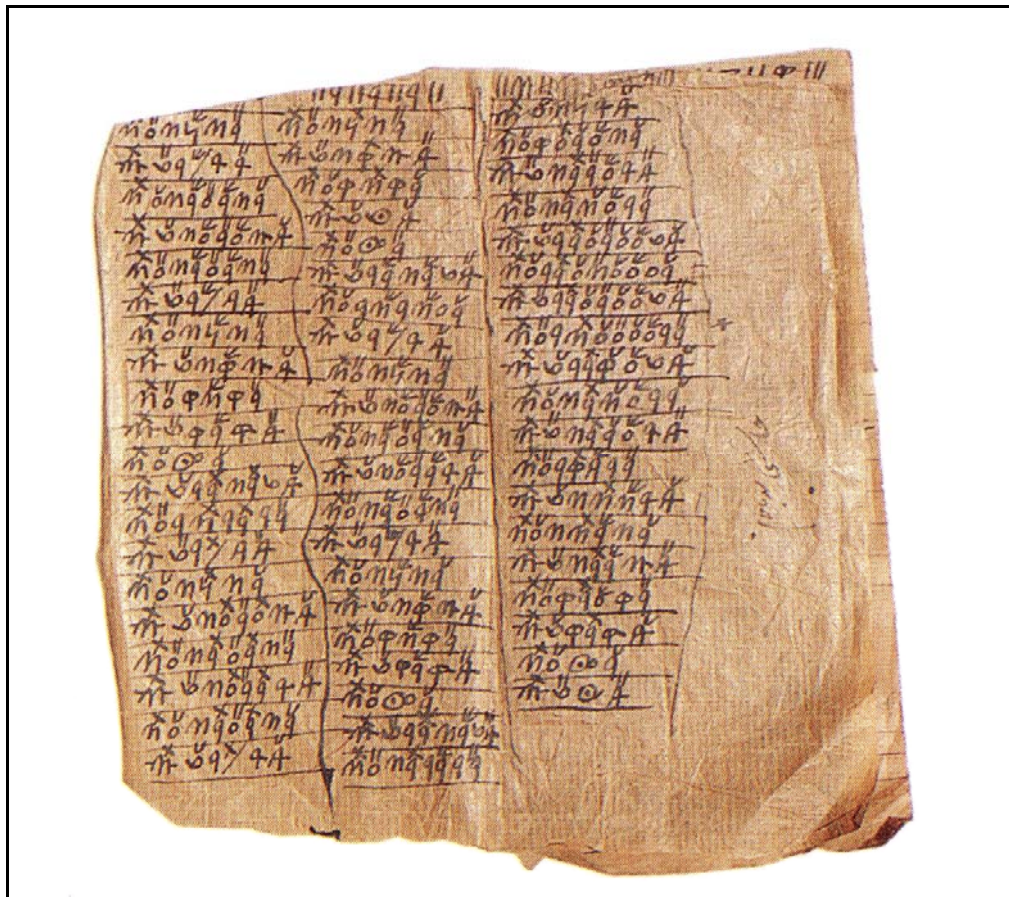


Figure 4.37 The Talim for the *Kaanhi* Weaving



Figure 4.38 Contemporary Multicoloured *Kaanhi* Tojlis (spindles)



Figure 4.39 *Kaanhi* Loom in Kanihama, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.40 Close up of a *Kaanhi* Jamawar in Kanihama, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.41 Close up of Embroidery on Pashmina, personal collection, early 1970s



Figure 4.42 Paisley on Pashmina, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)

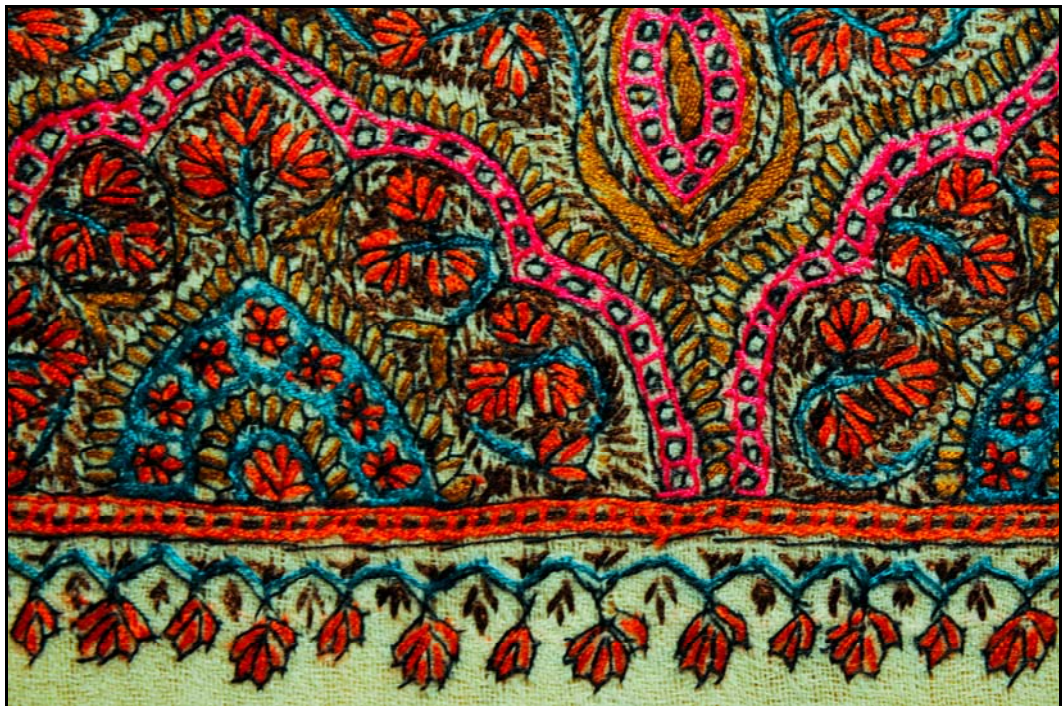


Figure 4.43 Close up of Embroidery, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)



Figure 4.44 Antique *Kaanhi* in Pashmina, early 20th Century



Figure 4.45 Floral Motif on shawl, Srinagar (Fieldwork August 2005)

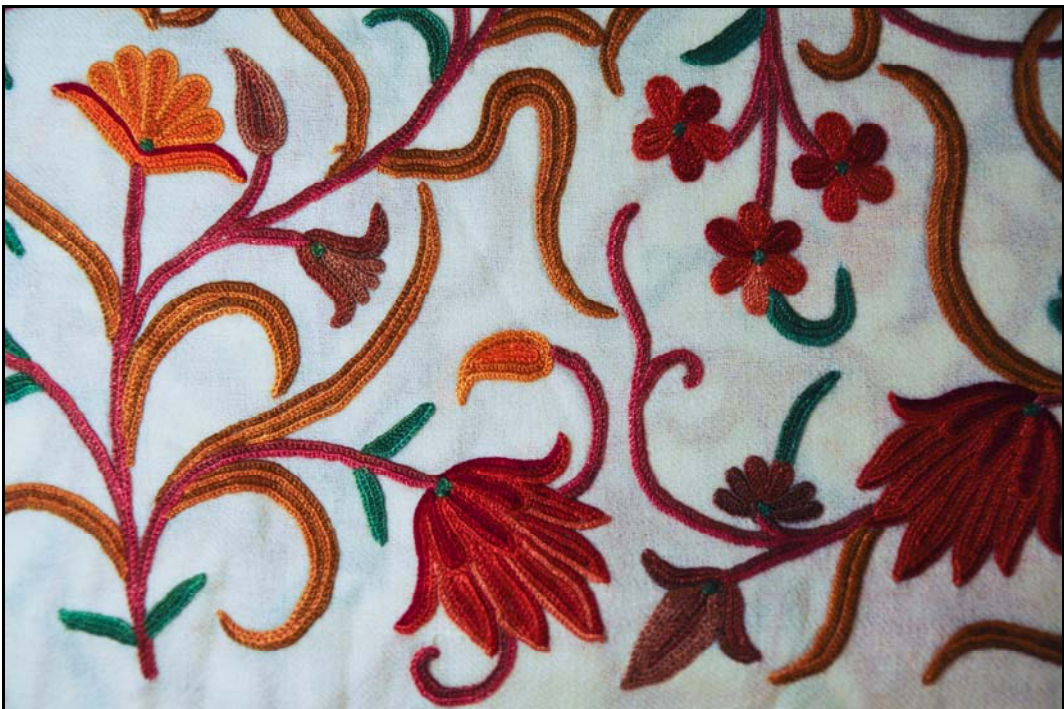


Figure 4.46 Crewel work on plain wool, Personal collection, 2002



Figure 4.47 Chain Stitch on wool, Personal collection, 2002



Figure 4.48 Kashmiri floral embroidery on silk sari, Personal collection, 2006



Figure 4.49 Machine made imitation of Kashmiri shawl, Personal collection.



Figure 4.50 Embroidery on Namdah, Khadi Workshop, Pampore, Srinagar

Chapter 5 – The Post Conflict Economy of Kashmir and the Role of Crafts

This chapter looks at the economic impact of the conflict on Kashmiri crafts in two parts. The first studies the impact of conflict on the economy through study of unemployment, poverty, infrastructural changes and diversion of State resources towards defence. Here it contextualises the Kashmiri conflict by drawing comparisons and contrasts with other conflict areas. It then builds links between poverty, unemployment and conflict and also culture and development and develops them within the research proposition. The first section therefore emerges from the study of literature. The second section examines Kashmiri crafts in a post conflict economy. Here statistics about crafts are used as a starting point to examine changing trends in employment and increases in revenue from crafts over the post conflict period. This information includes observations and interviews from the fieldwork (2003-2006) to develop a deeper understanding of what crafts mean in Kashmir today, their potential, problems and the challenges faced by it owing to the post conflict scenario in Kashmir. The second section thereby draws on empirical research conducted in Kashmir. This chapter therefore informs the research question by analysing the changes in the Kashmiri economy brought about by the conflict, the current status and problems within crafts, and the role of crafts in this economy.

In order to validate findings from fieldwork (2003-2006) regarding economic impact of conflict I have juxtaposed these findings against literature reviews. This enabled me to gain perspective of Kashmir's post conflict economy and understand how crafts have been impacted. The review of literature explores themes of unemployment, poverty, corruption, development, and culture as well as post conflict development. Here an attempt at establishing causal links between these themes has been made which forms the basis of the proposition mentioned in chapter one. The impact of the conflict on the craft economy of Kashmir has not been studied or reported in any study yet. This was made evident by secondary searches of literature and fieldwork (2003-2006) observations. However as established in previous chapters crafts remain a traditionally important sector, with a vast potential for revenue generation for the Kashmiri economy, hence studying the impact of conflict specifically on this sector is important to fill this

gap that exists in the knowledge about Kashmiri crafts. This is the rationale behind this chapter.

The changes in the post conflict economy are studied here to allow understanding of the role crafts play. As mentioned earlier women are also now part of the crafts workforce. Thus changes and challenges to the crafts economy in post conflict Kashmir are significant and relevant to them.

The chapter starts with the review of literature here works of Ohiorhenuan and Kumar (2005), Cater (2002), Maresko (2004), Gasser et al. (2004), Del Castillo (2001) have been included, which address post conflict economies and issues reconstruction in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Mozambique, El Salvador and Palestine. Assessment of post conflict areas including capacity building, enterprise development and the use of textiles and crafts for poverty reduction has been studied in works of Imhoff (1998) in Mexico, Smith and Wise (2002) in the Balkans, Blue et al. (2001) in Armenia, Peberdy (2000) in South Africa, Thomas and Wilson (1996) in Saharawi, Layton (2004) in North Caucasus, Kyle (1999) in Ecuador and Kusago (2005) in Timor Leste. Causal links between poverty and conflict have been studied in works of Justino (2006) in Rwanda, Ibanez and Moya (2006) in Colombia, Date-Bah (2003) in an edited book that contains work in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon and Mozambique. The issue of culture and development has been studied in UNESCO publications (1995), Watkins (2001), Sen (1996), DeCuellar (1996) and Rippon and Willow (2004). Statistics cited in this chapter are from sources mentioned above and also from governmental reports. The State Planning and Development Department that includes the Directorate of Economics and Statistics and the Planning Commission for Jammu and Kashmir publish these statistical reports. These reports have been critically assessed further in this chapter.

These readings have been combined with fieldwork (2003-2006) observations and conversations with crafts people and other respondents mentioned in appendix one⁶⁰. This aims to create a cohesive argument in understanding post conflict Kashmir and the importance of its crafts. This chapter looks at the post conflict economy from the view

⁶⁰ See Appendix 1

of assessing damages wrought by the conflict however to validate this information the atypical or deviant views have also been included. Here the issue of the conflict being of benefit to some has been revisited; here this purely refers to personal profits and development of individuals who work within crafts. This view was not sought, yet it emerged during fieldwork and provides a balance of opinions that is an essential prerequisite of good research practice.

5.1 Impact of the Conflict on the Economy of Kashmir

‘Damage to the productive infrastructure and communication networks represents the most visible impact of crises’ (Gasser, 2004, p.17). This section looks at the impact of conflict on infrastructure, agriculture and tourism and how it created unemployment and poverty in Kashmir.

Infrastructure: The infrastructure of the state was negatively impacted by the conflict as roads, power and water supply; means of transport, electricity were damaged. This physical damage was exacerbated by lack of maintenance of the facilities as the conflict raged between security forces and militants. During fieldwork in 2004 a crafts person in Zakora spoke about the collapse of a bridge in the nearby village, this bridge was the only one over the water body concerned. Repeated pleas of the village people to their local government did not bring repairs or solutions, however when the army needed to cross the river, the collapsed bridge was instantly repaired. This highlights two issues, first; the focus on maintenance and development of infrastructure is directly related to its importance to the security (military) in the region, second, damage and disrepair of infrastructure is not resolved in conflict areas as the focus is on providing security and protection. This deterioration of infrastructure was visually evidenced in many parts of Kashmir, where roads, especially after a harsh winter were left in a poor condition. Old buses which the State Transport Corporation owns, are not maintained, replaced or repaired. Electricity and water supply is erratic and telephone cables are known to collapse in the winter, often being left without repair for long periods.

This deterioration of transport and infrastructure caused by conflict is not unique to Kashmir and has also been noted in the Province of Bandundu (Democratic Republic of Congo) by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2000, cited in Gasser, 2004, p.18) where people found a lack of travel and transport to be disruptive to their productivity. This should be seen combination with the lack of development argument cited in chapter two⁶¹.

In a post conflict economic survey done by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir in 2007-08 it is mentioned that, 'the estimated hydro power potential of the state is 20,000MW of which 16,480MW have been identified and only 1478.70MW (9%) have been exploited by the end of the 10th Five Year Plan (2001-2006)' (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2007, p.xii⁶²). This reflects on the poor infrastructural development of the State over a period of five years (2001-06), which comprise the post conflict period, as admitted by its own government.

Agriculture: It has been observed that this industry too had taken a set back from the long period of violence that Kashmir faced. As Quraishi observes about Kashmir, 'Today the States annual food grain production is estimated to be over 1.35 million tonnes. This is well below its actual requirement, and approximately 4 Billion Rupees is spent annually on importing food grains. The consumer goods industry is virtually non-existent' (Quraishi, 2004, p.26). The State of Kashmir showed heavy dependence on agricultural trade in the early 1980s. The collapse of infrastructure mentioned earlier is directly related to this decline. Transport problems hinder economic activities and make commercialisation of agricultural products barely possible (ILO, 2000, cited in Gasser, 2004, p.18). This should be viewed in relation to the population that depends on this as a main source of income. According to the 2001 census in the State 42.40% of the population of Jammu and Kashmir are cultivators, and additional 6.56% are agricultural labourers, which means that 48.96% is involved directly in agriculture and related activities (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2007). This report goes onto compare

⁶¹ See chapter 2, section 2.1.2 on climate, geography and its impact on Kashmir.

⁶² This document is a soft bound report which provided up to date information about the economy of Kashmir, it is for public knowledge but was not provided despite repeated request for statistics and information. However a copy was obtained only through personal contact in the government at a much later stage in the research. See chapter 1- Methodology for further details.

GDP of India and GSDP (Gross State Domestic Product) of Northern States of India at 1999-00 constant prices. Here Kashmir has been compared and contrasted with Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Haryana, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. In 2000-2001 Kashmir stood at a rate of 1.96 as its annual average growth rate which is the lowest out of all the other Northern states. However this report does not mention the conflict or violence in the State at all. It does not provide any statistics about the period of conflict to enable comparisons to be made with the pre conflict statistics. This could be due to vested interests in concealing the impact, or it could also be because surveys and census were not conducted during the conflict period.

Tourism: Tourism and travel was a major contributor to the Kashmir economy as mentioned in chapter two. This declined in the post conflict period and revenue from this sector dried up, impacting the economy severely. Within development, tourism is known for the money it generates. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, tourism – and associated activities – generates over 10 percent of Global Domestic Product and employs over 200 million people. There are nearly 700 million international travellers in a year, a figure that is expected to double by 2020 (Wroe and Doney, 2004). According to DfID (Department for International Development, UK) research tourism has become the main money earner for a third of the developing nations and the primary source of foreign exchange earning for most of the 49 Least Developed Countries. Infrastructure associated with tourism development (roads, electricity, communications, piped water) can provide essential services to rural communities (Wroe and Doney, 2004). This statement is applicable to Kashmir, which benefited from pre conflict tourism revenues. Crafts in the State had flourished under previously abundant patronage of tourists bringing revenue and much needed development to the State. Often craft makers and vendors did not need to travel long distances to sell their wares as tourists would flock to Kashmir and buy directly from the vendors.

The continuing hostilities in Kashmir and the international awareness about the problem were reflected in the approach of the foreign offices in the rest of the world. These offices advised their nationals not to visit Kashmir. Insurance costs for travelling to such

troubled areas were hiked as violence escalated, thereby significantly discouraging travel to the region. It is interesting to note here that the Lonely Planet guide to India 2001 mentioned Kashmir briefly, along with its troubles and advised people not to visit the troubled State. This active discouragement with fear of safety of lives reflects in the intensity of the conflict and the awareness it generated globally, but also on the significant loss of revenue through tourism that was caused by the conflict.

Poverty and Unemployment: The conflict has created poverty and unemployment that were evidenced during fieldwork (2003-2006). The government reports also acknowledge this in a passing manner. The statistics provided by them are estimated of poverty and they acknowledge that, 'the real magnitude of poverty in J&K State is unknown' (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2007, p.351). However the report estimates that the population living below the poverty line between the period of 1988 and 1993⁶³ increased by 1.35%⁶⁴. Unemployment statistics mentioned in this extensive document state that the population of the state has increased from 5.9 million in 1981 to 10.1 million in 2001, the number of workers recorded an increase of only 39% during this period, which renders the increased workforce as unemployed (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2007). During fieldwork (2003-2006) a high proportion of unemployed people were observed. This too is acknowledged in this report as the presence of 'high incidence of unemployment amongst educated youth' (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2007, p.359). However demographic details or definitions of who constitutes 'youth' and how education is interpreted have not been discussed within the report. Also not included here are the details of identification and definitions of the poverty line. The lack of reference to the conflict in assessment of statistics is yet another aspect which has not been mentioned in this report⁶⁵ at all.

⁶³ This combined population, both rural and urban, living below the poverty line in Jammu and Kashmir; figures for 1987-88 was 23.82% and that for 1993-94 was 25.17%. The combined population living under the poverty line in India; figures for 1987-88 was 38.86% and that for 1993-94 was 35.97%

⁶⁴ During this period the national percentage of people living below the poverty line had decreased by 2.89%

⁶⁵ This report has to be critically assessed as a source used to examine statistics from the region of Kashmir. The conflict in the region has increased security and suspicion in the region, creating a reason for censorship of data and statistics which could damage the peace efforts or compromise the security of the region⁶⁵. This means that relatively few non government or independent bodies/ individuals/ agencies have been allowed into Kashmir to assess the conflict and its impact. This is a stumbling block in gathering data from this region. The government of Jammu and Kashmir publish yearbooks and reports regularly; however these are not easily accessible. The report used here is perhaps the only up to date

Unemployment thereby can be seen as an impact of the conflict, where a shrinking economy, geared towards defence, provides few income generation options, creating further poverty. Lack of investment, financial support and a crumbling infrastructure all contribute towards the impoverishment of the people of this region. Poverty is often seen as fuel for unrest and further violence. The next sections look at the causal links between unemployment, poverty and conflict.

5.2 Conflict and Unemployment

Negative impact of the conflict on the industry of tourism and thereby also crafts meant a large scale of unemployment for people who were connected to this industry and dependent on it for survival. Escalating violence and lack of employment made the situation in Kashmir grim. Chopra considers unemployment to be the reason that lures the youth towards militancy. According to Government statistics Kashmir today has 183,000 unemployed youth in the category of highly educated (Chopra, 2007a, p.1). However Chopra also argues that Kashmir's conflict has benefited the region in many ways. He cites the special treatment of Kashmir by the Indian government as one the main reasons for the enrichment of the region. Since the conflict began, the government of India has financed 100% of Kashmir's budget, which is an exception as the Central government is known to only fund up to 20% of the federal state development cost (Chopra, 2007a, p.2). Chopra mentions that even though the tourism market for craft made goods dwindled, it was to an extent replenished by the new consumer of the crafts goods – the Indian Army. Over 600,000 army personnel based in Kashmir as potential consumer of local Kashmiri products (Chopra, 2007, p.2)⁶⁶. To promote development within the State, the Indian government has also offered total excise-tax exemption, till 2012 for operations of new industries. Quraishi mentions Kashmir's unemployment figures as well, 'Three lakh (300,000) educated people are currently unemployed in

official source of statistical information in Kashmir. Its reliability and veracity should be critically approached given that statistics are often interpreted, doctored and presented with regard to the vested interest of the publisher and the recipient of the information. Thus it is important to include the data it cites within this research, however awareness of biases within this report have been included in its examination.

⁶⁶ A map of police to public ratio highlights this further, see appendix 5.

Kashmir. According to an August 2002 report, there were only 11,200 business establishments in Kashmir - a 32 percent drop from 1989' (Quraishi, 2004, p.25).

The statistics as noticed before do not match, which raises questions about their validity. While Chopra has cited the deviant view of the conflict benefiting the economy, Quraishi argues for the negative impact of the conflict on unemployment. The attempt to distinguish the truth from falsehood here is futile as both don't elaborate on the variables of poverty, income, and employment and also do not clarify if they are discussing the valley of Kashmir or the larger geographic area also known as Kashmir. However they both propose that the conflict had an impact, in Chopra's case (2007) it benefited the economy as more money was spent by the government in supporting it and also by military personnel spending money within the local economy. Chopra's deviant view was cross-mapped through fieldwork (2003-2006). Businessmen interviewed spoke about the regular stop and searches that they faced as they commuted from their warehouses to their homes and also to the workshops to see progress of shawls and to possibly collect finished pieces. These searches by armed personnel were known to end in some shawls being acquired by the personnel as *bakshish* (bribery) to allow the said businessman to pass through the military checkpoint. Mr Haneef who had faced substantial losses on his Kaanhi shawls each of which cost several thousand rupees also repeated this story. It is therefore important that the aspect of military personnel being part of the economy be understood from the craft makers and traders perspective as well. Quraishi (2004) mentions an August 2002 report in her quote, yet within her work she does not cite or refer to this report in order to establish which report she has discussed and used as the basis of the figures she has quoted. However unemployment has seen a rise in Kashmir as established through conversations with respondents during fieldwork (2003-2006), literature review of government documentation and impact assessment documents from other areas around the world which analyse conflict. These documents shall now be discussed.

This situation seen in Kashmir is by no means unique. The Democratic Republic of Congo has suffered from political clashes and violence, here the collapse of state run infrastructure led to hindrance to economic activities. This resulted in wide spread

unemployment, with workers resorting to house hold production as cash flows in the local economies dried up (Gasser, 2004, p.18). Here the conflict impacted the economy causing unemployment. This loss of income in turn is known to reduce purchasing capacity of the local population, which results in a drop in the circulation of currency in the economy, this in turn impacts demand, causing further distress to a post conflict economy. This is evidenced in Kashmir where to supplement their income crafts people spoke about working on the farmland even through the harsh winter to grow their own food as well as generate additional incomes. Ohiorhenuan and Kumar (2005) state that post conflict economies suffer from a lack of capital, loss of assets, lack of production as the economies in these areas are geared to cater to troops in the region, shifting the focus of government spending. All these factor lead to a lack of employment, which is direct fallout of the conflict. Dunne offers a similar argument about the links between conflict and unemployment by stating, ‘conflict will reduce the capacity of economies to absorb labour, which is likely to lead to reduced employment in the economy’ (Dunne, 2003, cited in Date-Bah, 2003, p.36). This statement is further elaborated by Date-Bah, ‘armed conflicts disrupt and sometimes lead to a total breakdown of production, both agricultural and industrial, with adverse impacts on economic output, exports and general viability. There is a general loss of productive goods as well as an increase in unemployment’ (Date-Bah, 2003, p.9-10). This literature review shows unemployment to have causal links with conflict; it also highlights the fact that unemployment due to the conflict is not unique to Kashmir alone.

During the conflict and due to it, there has been little economic development in the valley; this has translated into a lack of employment opportunities. According to government statistics cited by Chopra, between 1990-2003 militant declared *hartals* (strikes) on 1356 days, disrupting work and forcing many private businesses to remain shut (Chopra, 2007a). Few areas of conventional employment for the educated and the uneducated were seen in Kashmir during fieldwork (2003-2006). Graduates from the Kashmir University who were interviewed mentioned this vehemently. Young male students from the Kashmir University (January 2003) mentioned that despite holding management degrees they were unable to find employment in the valley. When asked why, they said it was due to a lack of investment in the valley. Yunus, a twenty year old

studying accounting at the University believed that due to the political sensitivity of the region the government was keeping investors out of the valley⁶⁷. Many of these young people were hoping to be able to migrate out of the valley of Kashmir. This migration is cited as a direct fall out of conflict and its called 'brain drain' by Date-Bah (2003, p.8). She mentions that migration leads to brain drain as thousands of people who flee from a conflict region for economic or political reasons take with them their skills and know-how.

These studies indicate a strong causal link between conflict and unemployment. It could be established that the unemployment in Kashmir is a direct result of the conflict that the region saw for nearly twenty years. Over this period of time lack of income due to unemployment has created impoverishment for large parts of the society. This poverty has deeper more serious consequences on the peace and stability of this region. The next section looks at the links between poverty and the risk of conflict.

5.3 The Links between Poverty and Conflict.

Conflict by its very nature implies a heavy financial cost; this has been mentioned in chapter three. However the expenditure of the conflict leads to poverty or lack of development in other areas. Violent conflict is widely known to affect the levels of poverty of any given economy across the world and thus Kashmir is not an exception. Around 20% of the Rwandan population slipped into poverty following the Rwandan genocide of 1994 (Justino and Verwimp, 2006). The per capita income of Kashmir is Rs17,174 which is only two thirds of the national average for the rest of India Rs 25,907 (Chopra, 2007). This suggests a lack of productivity causing a decline in income and creating increasing poverty.

Areas of conflict often see international agencies rushing in to help stabilize situations. This help is quick to appear but does not last long and is most often focus on provision of basic services such as food, clothing, shelter and medicines. Some agencies help

⁶⁷ See Appendix 1

enable the local government to take on the task of peace building and reconstruction (Ohiorhenuan and Kumar, 2005). Reconstruction of an economy is tough as local and national governments often have resources diverted towards defence. This is applicable to Kashmir, where India spends a sizeable portion of its State budget on defending Kashmir details of which have been seen in chapter three. Hoyle (2003, cited in Date-Bah, 2003, p.193-210) mentions that conflict often causes depletion or destruction of natural resources and causes institutional poverty, loss of local labour, which leads to loss of entrepreneurial knowledge and a breakdown of communication networks. The monetary cost of conflict often leads to institutional poverty. This explains why loans and other credit facilities that would have been available to the people of Kashmir during peace were no longer available. By institutional poverty it is implied that institutions that exist in developed nations at the regional, sub national and national levels to promote social, economic, cultural and even legal support are missing in conflict areas. Entrepreneurial talent is often diverted towards catering to the service economy which in the case of Cambodia and East Timor was the military present in the region (Ohiorhenuan and Kumar, 2005). In Kashmir the presence of a large number of military personnel has lead to a small segment of the market being focussed to meet their needs⁶⁸ (Chopra, 2007). An area of conflict generates little revenue for the State to earn from. The State might often not have enough revenue to pay for basic expenditures such as salaries of its employees. This impoverishment of the systems of governance further exacerbates the impoverishing impact of the conflict. This institutional poverty of the government presents a major problem for post conflict development and in the case of crafts it inhibits entrepreneurial growth.

In Kashmir businessmen Naqash and others who wished to remain anonymous spoke about a lack of financial support to them as entrepreneurs. Gasser (2004) states that this is because lenders and borrowers usually lack information and guarantees, this inevitably hinders constructive cooperation between banks and entrepreneurs. Businessmen spoke about their inability to provide collateral in times of economic hardship, a fact that banks do not wish to consider and thereby refuse to take the risk of offering credit. This problem of lack of credit facilities, which are essential for

⁶⁸ See Appendix 5

promotion of businesses, causes further impoverishment. Microfinance in areas of conflict is a relatively new field says Nagarajan (2003). She goes on to say that there are opposing views within this as humanitarians with social objectives viewed microfinance as something essential to jump start crippled economies by promoting income generating activities, while others think of microfinance as a tool with limited ability and capacity to outreach a wider audience in a sustainable and efficient manner. However the intention here is to highlight the reluctance on part of the microfinance lenders to serve within a conflict area. Often the only sources of credit to people in Kashmir are the informal lenders such as the traders and merchants. This was seen in Cambodia and Thailand as well (Date-Bah, 2003). This meant that monetarily weak businesses would struggle to survive in Kashmir. Migration is often not an option for these small businesses. It was pointed out that smaller businesses could rarely afford to set up offices in Delhi where they could access more resources and information. A parallel could be drawn here with lack of ability to move faced by people in conflict in Rwanda (Justino, 2006). This lack of movement is linked to limitation of their resources.

Promotion of credit facilities and reconstruction of the economic infrastructure of the state has seen to be instrumental in promotion of peace in El Salvador. Kusago (2005) proposes that provision of livelihoods in this area could decrease the violence that affects this region, while provision of micro credit and promotion of small and medium scale enterprises could be a solution to Eritrea and Timor Leste. This is the argument that this thesis supports; where in provision of livelihoods in areas which are of value to society, like crafts, could possibly provide a solution to the violence in the region.

Safety and presence of secure environments are often seen as prerequisites for economic recovery. This means that people (and goods) should be able to move around safely, and are not forced to waste time and energy in ensuring their own personal safety (Ohiorhenuan and Kumar, 2005). A lack of safety often means that individuals, national organisations as well international agencies would often be deterred from travelling to and working within the conflict area. It also means that private investment in such areas shall be limited if not entirely missing. Peace in post conflict situations is also often

fragile and easily broken through continuing low intensity conflict. The fragility of peace and intractability of the conflict was discussed previously; here it highlights the negative impact on the economy.

Disruption and destruction of infrastructure caused by conflict affects the State's capacity to provide basic needs to its population (Justino, 2006). This means that there are very few public institutions left that may be involved in a long term strategy of economic development of that area (Date-Bah, 2003). This leads to further problems of lack of trust and hostility towards political institutions that represent authority, as population who are left vulnerable to the vagaries of conflict find reason to target their anger and discontent. This hostility limits constructive reconstruction attempts. This breakdown of trust also means that attempts made by government agencies to alleviate the economic problems faced by its people would be met with cynicism and might also be refused in light of political differences. Programs launched by the Indian government for economic development were seen to be perceived as bribery by some parts of the highly mistrustful Kashmiri population.

This conflict has prevented investment and development of the region. Widespread unemployment and poverty has enhanced the risk of a Kashmir falling into a cycle of poverty and conflict. With its potential to employ a large number of people, and its ability to generate income/ revenue at a large scale, crafts seem to have the potential to start the economic reconstruction of Kashmir. Reconstruction, according to the World Bank, has two main objectives; to facilitate transition from war to sustainable peace and to support the resumption of economic and social development, thus post conflict reconstruction entails rebuilding institutions which includes jump-starting the economy of a post conflict zone (Kreimer, 1998).

This role of crafts that provide entrepreneurship and income generation to the local community is seen as beneficial in other regions of the world too. In South Africa mobility of entrepreneurs that allowed them to pursue informal trade provided money to the local populations. These local people were observed to be enjoying trading as it has created a rise in self worth as well as employment. Due to conflict in this area, there are

few formal sectors of employment and lack of opportunity, which highlights the importance of small-scale trade in reconstructing the society and economy (Peberdy, 2000). This has similarities with Kashmir, wherein trading in crafts provides an opportunity to reconstruct the State. Imhoff (1998) mentions the importance of crafts in the rebuilding of the Mexican economy. Here sustainable incomes were generated through the promotion of eco friendly crafts. Smith and Wise (2002) have assessed the impact of enterprise development in post conflict regions, their work focuses on the Balkans. They mention that enterprise development, which leads to income generation and employment, has played a leading role in stabilising relations between various ethnic groups. This could be understood in two ways, one – creation of income and employment causes development of an area that was previously under conflict, and two – creation of income and employment leads to reconciliation of conflicting parties and therefore creates peace. This dual layered impact of enterprise development reflects well on its ability to reconstruct an area, not only by creating income and employment but also by promoting peace, all essential components of reconstruction (Gasser et al., 2004). This assessment is in line with the research proposition and supports what this research suggests.

In 1974 Schumacher spoke about peace and prosperity, ‘Why should a rich man go to war? He has nothing to gain. Are not the poor, the exploited, the oppressed most likely to do so, as they have nothing to lose but their chains? The road to peace, it is argued, is to follow the road to riches’ (Schumacher, 1974, p.18). He explained that it is often the poor and exploited, who have nothing to lose that go to war. This contributes to the thinking that poverty and conflict have a cyclic symbiotic relationship, wherein poverty leads to conflict and conflict creates further poverty, till it spirals out of control. This indicates that conflicts do not occur in a linear fashion, which denotes that conflict and peace are not at opposite ends of a scale but in fact co-exist in different degrees of intensity in different time periods (Justino, 2006). This is relevant here to Kashmir, as the conflict has created poverty, this may have possibly contributed to the prolonged nature of conflict where it has indeed become cyclic in its nature and has now lasted for over two decades. This cycle of violence lead poverty creates poverty traps. It is known that persistent poverty could create grounds for increased social discontent that could

lead to violent conflict. Chronic poverty might also then lead individuals to become fighters as a form of coping with poverty itself (Justino, 2006). She goes on to point out the lack of empirical evidence on the direct impact of conflict on poverty and even less is available on the conceptualisation, measurement and analysis of the possible links between chronic levels of poverty and violent conflict.

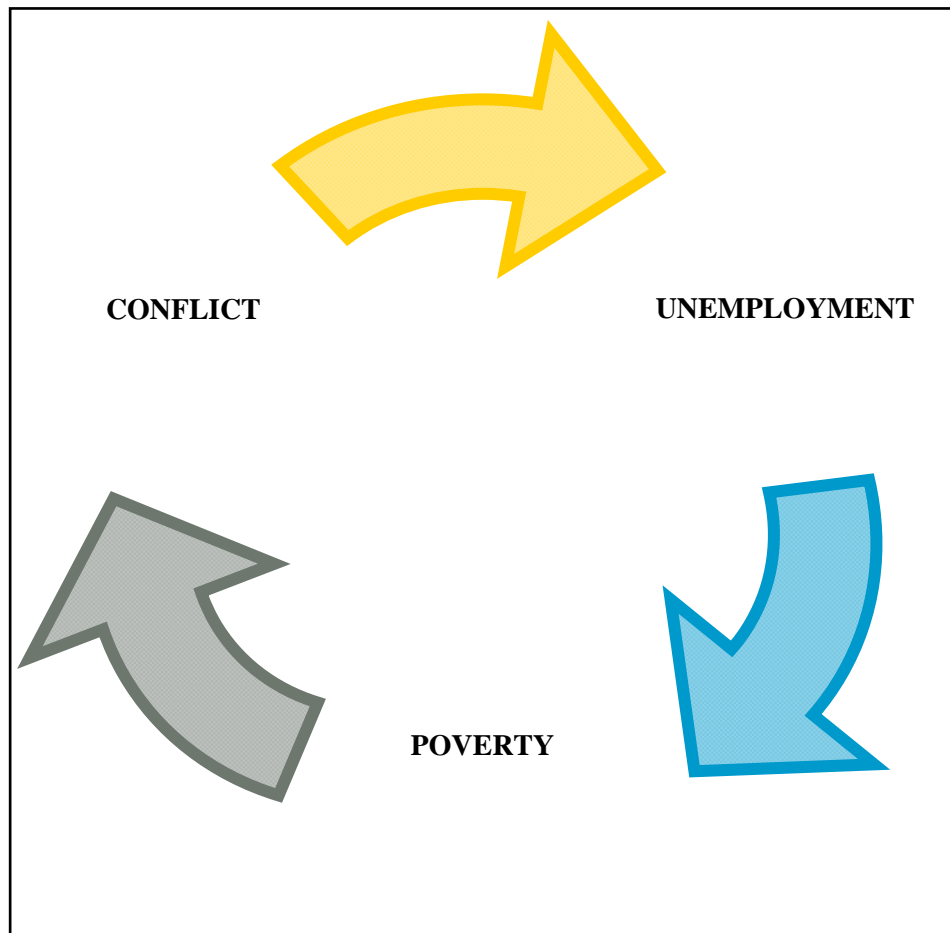
Quraishi mentions the possibility of hiring men for killing as an alternative means of earning money for some in Kashmir (Quraishi, 2004). This resorting to violence as a means of income generation has been seen in other parts of the world as well where people engage with violence as an expression of social discontent, due to lack of choice, due to peer pressure as well as through force. Fieldwork interviews with young men in Srinagar revealed that quite a few young men were sent out of the city of Srinagar to study or work if their families could afford the cost, to avoid the pressure to show support of the cause of conflict by joining the armed struggle against the government (Fieldwork 2005). This is similar to the situation in Sierra Leone where the militia promised jobs, money and women to the combatants who would join them (Humphreys and Weinstein, 2004). The easy availability of weapons and continuing influence of former combatants and militia often attracts unemployed youth towards criminality and violence and was evidenced in the case in Liberia and Sierra Leone (Ohiorhenuan and Kumar, 2005). Emerging studies from across the world indicate that chronic poverty can make soldiering or violence an attractive means of income generation when other non violent means are unavailable (Justino, 2006).

This discussion indicates the causal links between chronic poverty, unemployment and conflict. These links are depicted in Fig 5.1. Economic development in conflict areas like Kashmir could provide the first steps towards reconstruction and peace. This means that poverty amelioration within the state could lead to the starting point of a creation of peace. Research organisations as well as bodies like the UNDP, UNBCPR and the ILO recommend that employment-intensive reconstruction efforts are needed in areas of conflict, these are key to reintegrating diverse conflict affected groups as well as protection of vulnerable groups like ex combatants who need alternative incomes which

don't promote violence. Employment also gives people purchasing power, which in turn boosts the economy.

In order to understand the role crafts could play, it is important to also understand craft production as a culturally relevant area of work. It would be relevant to look at development and what it means in the context of a post conflict situation and explore its links to culture. The cultural importance of crafts to Kashmiri society and the reason for their being valued has been discussed in chapter two and three. The promotion of this culturally relevant activity could possibly lead to economic development. In order to comprehend this, discussions of the links between culture and development have been explored in the next section.

Figure 5.1 Causal relationship between Conflict, Unemployment and Poverty.



5.4 The Links between Culture and Development

It would be useful to define development and its central issues. Development could be defined as the expansion of social opportunities to people through the creation of active public policy (Drèze and Sen, 1997). Development can also be seen as a process that enhances the freedom of those who are involved to pursue whatever objectives they value and choose (Sen, 1996). If the central issue in economic development is the expansion of social opportunities to the people (Drèze and Sen, 1997), then the value of social opportunities could be defined as the ability to choose a life they want to lead. And since culture could be defined as 'ways of living together' (De Cuellar, 1996) then it could be assumed that development would mean promotion of cultures which people value. Previous chapters explored the value of crafts in Kashmir as they were seen to contribute towards the definition of identity. This would lead one to believe, that by promoting culture, development is directly promoted, as people are being given choices. In a debate on the culture and development in Europe the European Task force on Culture and Development mentioned that policy makers increasingly, all over the world, are recognising that culture has a larger place in the governance of human communities than they had thought (UNESCO, 1997). A sustainable process of human development could be achieved by development agencies grounding their theory and practice in a cultural approach at various levels (UNESCO, 2000).

It is important here to note the relevance of the human component to all development activities. As Sen (1996) mentions development seems to feature centrally the expansion of human capability. This notion would indicate that the humans have choices about what they would want and in deciding what kind of a life they would like to lead. Recommendations such as Sen's above, also seem to focus in part on the development of human resources. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the former Secretary General of the United Nations mentions that development divorced from its human or cultural context is development without a soul (De Cuellar, 1996) thereby indicating that development should be inclusive of areas of culture which people value.

Kabir (2003) indicates that cultural industries that promote creativity offer effective yet underused resources for peace keeping and peace building, especially in regions characterised by a long history of shared culture and violence. This is applicable to Kashmir where promotion of crafts could in the long run lead to the development of peace. Sorensen (1998) mentions, 'Petty trade and small-scale business activities often play a central role in the revival of post-war economies. Among the reasons for their relative prominence is the fact that these activities are in principle open to everybody: large investments are not required, unlike in agriculture, they do not require access to land, which is a scarce resource, they can be carried out at any time and for any length of time, and, finally, the lapse of time between investment and income is considerably shorter than in agriculture' (Sorensen, 1998, p. 30-31).

As seen in chapter two crafts are an essential part of culture and identity. In promoting crafts, the culture of Kashmir is being promoted this could promote development. This development could be considered cultural as individuals in society are given the opportunity to promote what they already value. However promotion of craft could also lead to economic development, which in light of the previous discussion, might lead to peace. This has been evidenced in Sierra Leone by Ripon and Willow (2004) where culturally relevant activities which were valued by the people of Sierra Leone were seen to promote relationships between people and thereby promote dialogue and peace in the region. This thesis argues that this could possibly be relevant and applicable to Kashmir as well. This section has attempted to explain the existence of links between culture and development. Here culturally relevant activities have been seen to promote economic development of regions. This is the theoretical basis on which the research proposition is built.

5.5 The Proposition

Thematic assessment thus far as in this chapter lead to the establishment of links between unemployment, conflict, poverty, development and culture, these are depicted

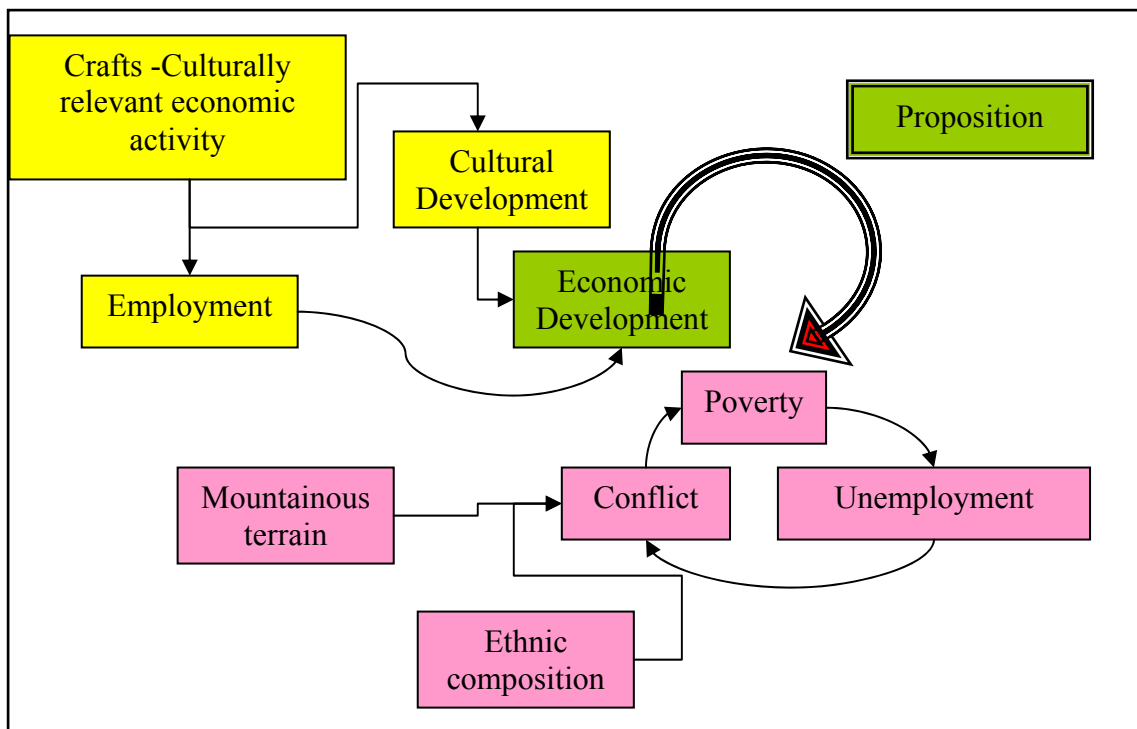
in Fig 5.2. Also included in this figure are the links between mountains and ethnicity⁶⁹ mentioned in chapter two and their contribution to conflict on the basis of risk of violence that they create. This chapter thus far shows how this violence manifests itself in poverty and unemployment and thereby could feed into a cycle of conflict and further poverty.

The proposition (Fig 5.2) revolves around the causal *links* between poverty and violence; culture and development; economic development and violence reduction/reconstruction. The preceding discussion illustrates that conflict has links to poverty, this could mean that any improvement in the economic status of the community which faces violence, could to some extent ameliorate the conflict. While culturally valuable activities have also been seen to promote development of regions. It is thereby proposed here that income generation through work in the culturally valuable and relevant sector of crafts could promote development of Kashmir's economy and could contribute to some extent in poverty reduction, which in turn could lead to a decrease in violence. Thereby in the long term crafts could be a source of economic reconstruction of this post conflict area.

As mentioned previously this proposition is based on a series of conjectures that allow linkages to be built between previously established theories about conflict, poverty, unemployment, culture and development. This allows for an understanding of the importance of crafts to post conflict Kashmir, thereby informing the research question. The proposition here indicates that crafts are of value to Kashmir on the basis of studies conducted in the previous chapters. In order to answer the research question and to further inform the proposition here it is now essential to understand the current status of crafts and understand the importance of the role they play in Kashmir today, which leads to the second section of this chapter.

⁶⁹ See Chapter 3

Figure 5.2 Potential Role of Crafts in Post Conflict Development of Kashmir



5.6 Post Conflict Crafts of Kashmir

Current status of Kashmiri crafts has initially been explored through analysis of statistics of trade and employment in this sector. This is followed by examination of the problems and changes in crafts, as voiced by crafts people during fieldwork (2003-2006). This section draws on statistics found during fieldwork, and relies mainly on empirical data that was gathered in the various stages of research. Observational research in Kashmir conducted through study of male crafts people has been included here. Female crafts workers and their emerging role in this sector of employment has been introduced here and elaborated in chapter six which follows. This section aims to understand the current status of Kashmiri crafts and allows for the development of a critical assessment of the crafts industry to assess how it could potentially contribute to income generation in the region. Thereby it contributes in informing the research question.

5.6.1 Statistics

Statistics⁷⁰ from the Jammu Kashmir Directorate of Handicrafts reveal the impact of the conflict on the crafts of Kashmir. The following figures and charts based on the information from reports of Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Jammu and Kashmir (2007) aim to provide the information on the status of Kashmiri crafts through study of statistics (See Fig 5.3-5.7). These figures, shown here as charts, are based on sales, production and employment in the field of crafts. Here crafts include carpets, felt rugs, crewel embroidery, wood carving, papier-mâché, fur and leather goods, chain stitch goods, woollen shawls, and other handicraft items that do not fit into these broad categories. However specific data on textiles, which are the focal point of this work are also included. During the conflict the census was not conducted and the respondents within the Directorate explained this as the reason for the gaps in the data provided. The charts are followed by a section of analysis, which explains the charts, explains the gaps in information within the charts and critically examines the data depicted therein.

⁷⁰ These statistics were difficult to access and information about these figures was denied several times before access was allowed. In most cases personal contacts through friends and family who work within the Government of Jammu and Kashmir were used to gain access to these statistics.

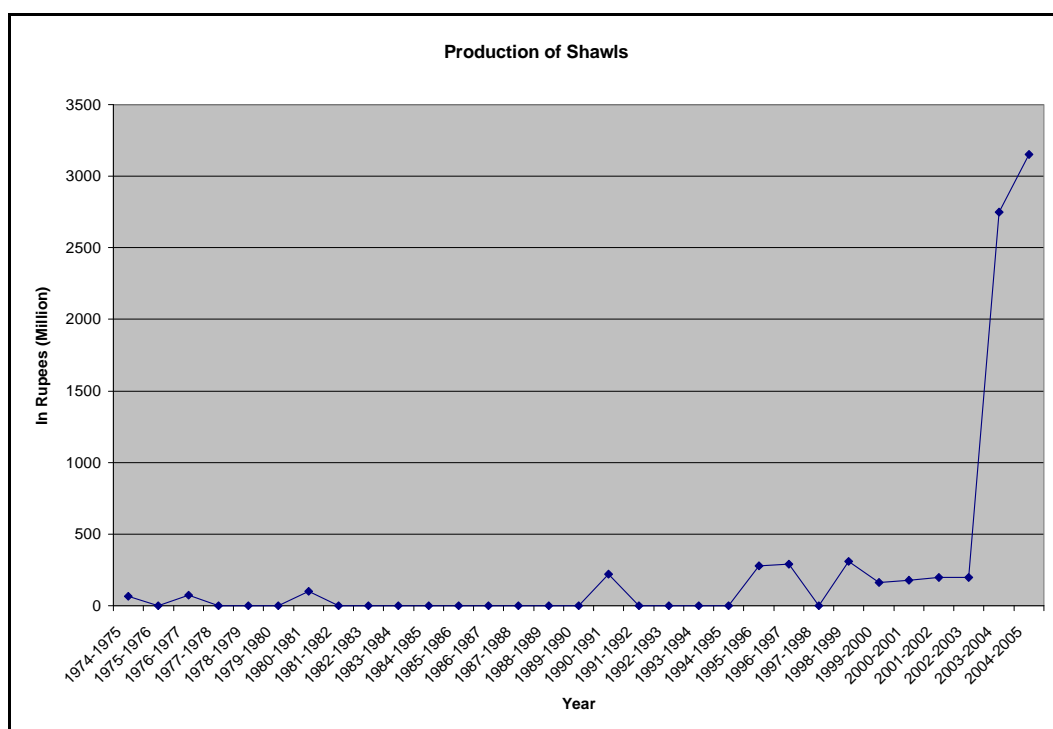


Figure 5.3 Total Production of Shawls in Kashmir, 1974 – 2005⁷¹

⁷¹ Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Jammu and Kashmir
 Figures in Rupees Millions. (Rs 1million = £12000 approximately) exchange rate from www.xe.com
 10/03/2006

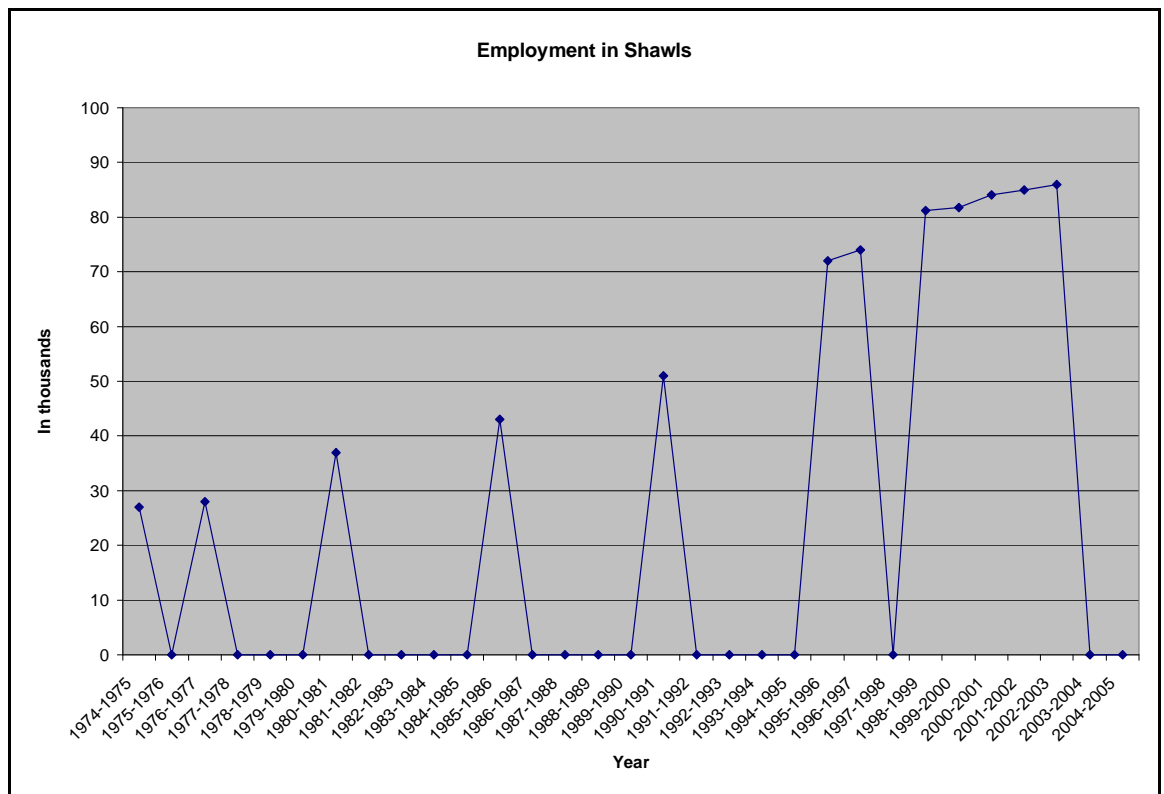


Figure 5.4 Total Employment in Shawls in Kashmir 1974-2005⁷²

⁷² Ibid

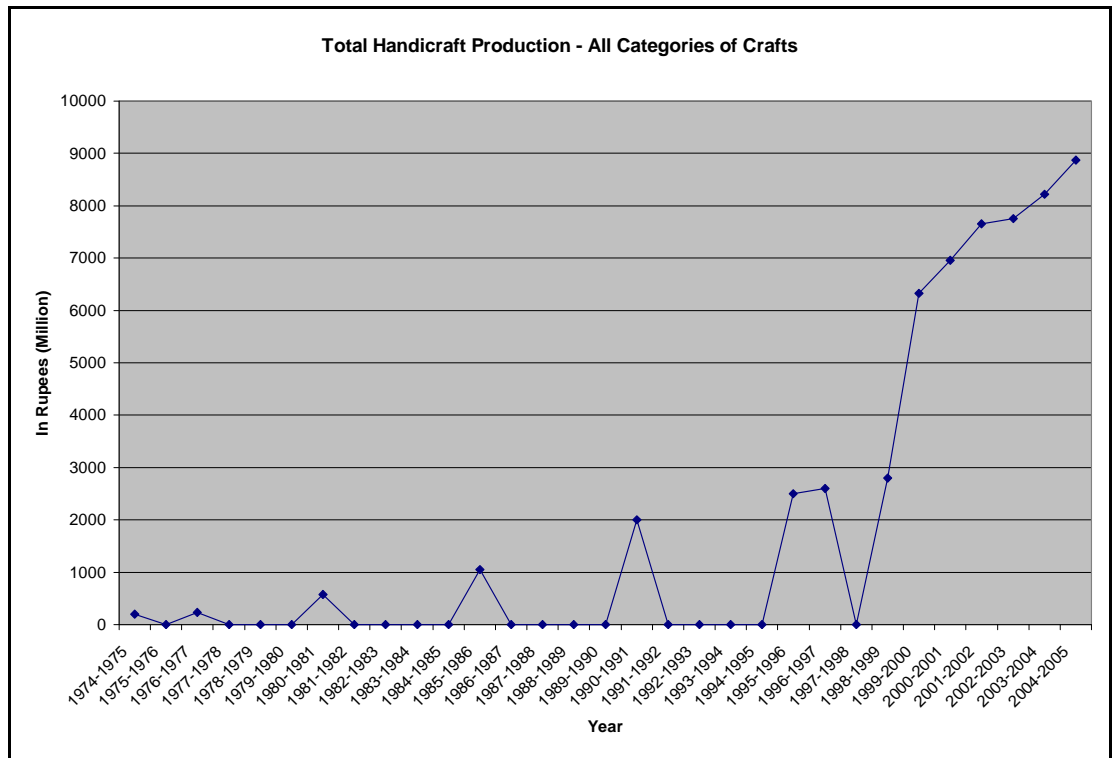


Figure 5.5 Total Handicraft Production in Kashmir 1975-2005⁷³.

⁷³ Ibid

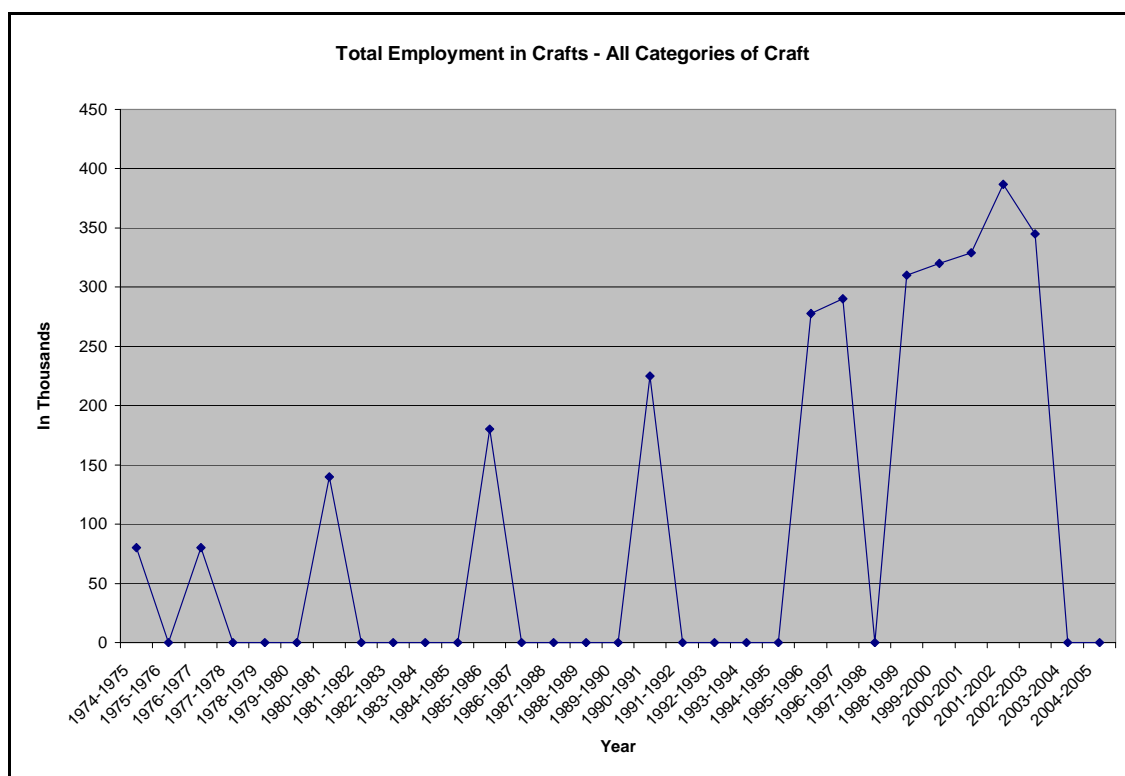


Figure 5.6 Total Employment in Crafts in Kashmir, all categories of Crafts 1974-2005⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ Ibid

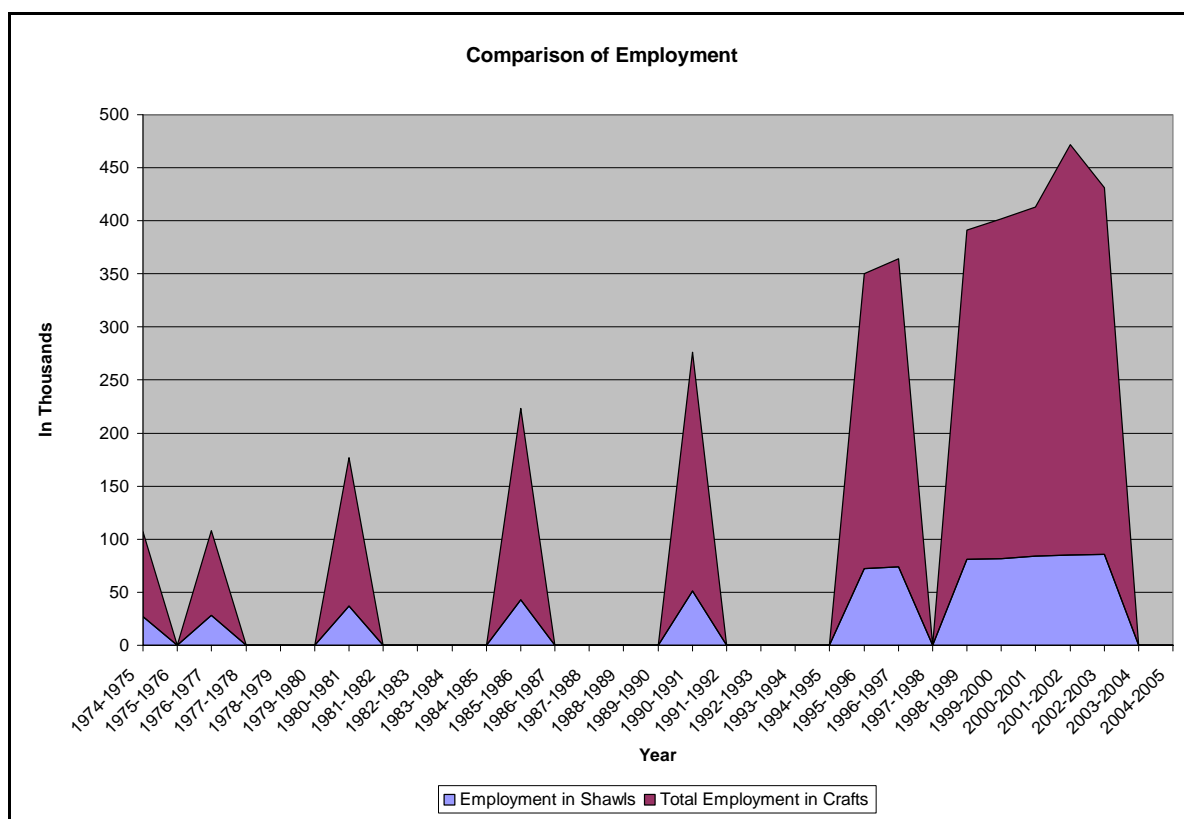


Figure 5.7 Share of employment in shawl making within the Kashmiri crafts sector⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Ibid

Fig 5.3 is indicative of the production of shawls in Kashmir. In 1974 it started being recorded and starts at 65.3 million Rupees worth of production; it then slowly grew to 72 million Rupees in 1976, and continued to grow to reach 100 million Rupees in 1980. This dropped to only 1.5 million Rupees in 1985, an indicator perhaps of the start of the unrest that preceded the conflict. However this is a speculation and has not been confirmed. After a gap of five years the graphs restarts in 1990, which is the next phase for which figures, are available. 1990 historically was the time when violence was at its peak⁷⁶. Shawl production for this period shows a steep increase to 220 million Rupees worth of production. This could be due to increased opportunity to work from within the safe confines of the home on shawls, away from the conflict that raged outside. This safety of working indoors during the conflict was mentioned by respondent crafts people during fieldwork (2003-2006) and could be seen as the reason for the increase in shawl production. However it should be borne in mind that the figures might also look steep as there are no comparisons of growth available from the previous five years. This production has grown steadily since 1990 and the 2004 – 2005 figures stand at 3150 million Rupees worth of shawls being made in Kashmir. Whether the reason is safety or a lack of comparison, it is essential to note here that shawl production in Kashmir generated a large amount of revenue. This revenue is important for a post conflict economy and is also indicative of the potential crafts have in contributing to the post conflict development of the state.

Fig 5.4 looks at the employment numbers within the shawl sector. Although there is no specific data on the gender distinctions within the working sector, this chart shows the steady growth of numbers of the people employed within the shawl sector of crafts. The records start in 1974 with 27,000 people involved in shawl making. It nearly doubles in ten years time standing at 43,000 in 1985. During the period of conflict, which started approximately in 1987, this figure shows a steady increase in numbers. In 2003 the figure for the number of people working on shawls in Kashmir was 86,000 people. This is a substantial number of people working just within the shawl-making sector of crafts making.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 2 Timeline of Conflict

Figures 5.3, 5.4 are related only to shawl production and when combined reveal the real economic contribution of shawl making in Kashmir. It also reveals the important role this sector is currently playing in supporting livelihoods and also promoting the cultural heritage of Kashmir. Fig 5.3 shows an increase in production, while Fig 5.4 shows an increase in employment, thus these figures validate each other. To put these figures for shawl manufacture in context they are compared to the overall handicraft production by the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir. Which means craft production as a whole including all areas of work is assessed to reveal the proportion that shawl making contributes. This is important because this research focuses on the people involved in the shawl making process only.

Fig 5.5 is indicative of the total handicrafts production in Kashmir. This includes woodworking, carpets, embroidery, papier-mâché, metalworking, willow wicker making, saffron processing, fur and leather production, as well as tapestry production. In 1974 total crafts production of this state was worth 200 million Rupees. This again has steadily grown, more than doubling in 1980 at 578 million Rupees, doubling again in 1985 at 1050 million Rupees. This figure seems to have consistently doubled every five years, growing steadily in the period from 1990 onwards and reaching 2500 million Rupees in 1995-96. This is a high figure and shows how crafts are placed within the economy of Kashmir. Yet again this substantial amount of revenue generated by the crafts industry indicates its potential contribution to revenue in the coming years. It also shows how large this sector is by the scale at which it has grown since 1974.

Fig 5.6 looks at the total employment within the crafts sector in Kashmir. Gaps here are for the years 1978 – 1979, 1982 - 1984, 1987 – 1990, 1992 – 1994, and 2004 – 2006. However what is evident from this chart is the steady increase in the number of people employed within the crafts sector. There is a brief dip in 2002 – 2003 that may be due to migration or due to people moving to other sectors of employment, both speculations. As mentioned before, no explanation was given. Yet the steady rise in the number of people employed in all areas of crafts reflects again, the relevance of crafts to Kashmir in terms of income generation.

Fig 5.7 applies a comparative approach to employment by showing the share of shawl making in the total employment within the crafts sector. It reveals that shawl making is an important component within the crafts sector in Kashmir and also yet again highlights the steady increase in number of people employed in this sector over a period of time.

The growth that can be seen from the figures above has little to do with support structures being provided in the post conflict scenario to the craft industry. These charts reveal that crafts as a means of income generation seem to be a popular choice of employment for increasing numbers of people. The figures are inconsistent and erratic, some figures are missing and there was no explanation given about these gaps, except, as mentioned earlier, that the conflict made it difficult to conduct a census. An additional reason stated for these gaps in information was that often-outdated figures are deleted from reports to save space, a strange reason given by a Kashmiri bureaucrat within the Directorate of Economics and Statistics⁷⁷. The graph returns to the zero mark where there is a lack of figures. The Department of Economics and Statistics and the Directorate of Handicraft and Handloom, Government of Jammu and Kashmir publish these statistics.

Critical analysis of these statistics would yet again start from the point of intent behind the publication of this document. The Department of Information and Statistics is the publisher of this data and gave weak reasons for the discrepancies in the data. Deletion of records due to lack of space on the spreadsheet is not a plausible response from a government office. These statistics support the argument being made thus far in the favour of crafts and their potential. It is important at this point to see crafts for what they are today in terms of significance to the people and the economy.

Historical and contemporary processes and techniques have been studied in the previous chapters. However the actual craft products currently being produced have not been critically examined yet. This critical examination of craft made good brings forth the problems within them. These problems are often commonly seen in craft areas across

⁷⁷ See Appendix 1

the world and therefore not all are unique to Kashmir. These problems are also not always caused by the conflict, though lack of training, development and support does aggravate them and prevent solutions from being offered. It is important that issues within craft made products be studied in order to build knowledge about current craftwork. This critical examination of products currently being made has not been conducted before and therefore it contributes towards filling the gap in the knowledge that exists about contemporary Kashmiri crafts and thereby informing the research question.

5.7 The Changing Nature of Crafts

Despite the problems mentioned in the previous sector, craft production in Kashmir has been on a rise. The charts (Fig 5.3-5.7) indicate this. They also reveal an increase in the number of people employed in this sector during the post conflict period. While Kashmir underwent political turmoil, crafts continued to be made. Migration of people, markets and businesses all changed the nature of crafts in Kashmir and these have been studied here.

5.7.1 Employment Patterns and Survival Strategies

Since this sector is largely ‘unorganised’ in terms of employment rights such as pensions and redundancy, it means crafts people have few options which include either switching professions or working as unskilled labour or relocating to another city or lastly, being unemployed. Thus the conflict seems to have left them more vulnerable than they were before. However a deviant view was also found wherein a few crafts people professed the reverse of this situation of unemployment (January 2003). This being that during the conflict crafts provided more work than before. In the troubled border areas of Srinagar district, the craftsmen said they did more work on crafts indoors, even if it paid little. The slump in the market also meant that the businessmen would pay comparatively less for each piece of shawl they got as they too were struggling to access markets elsewhere, outside Kashmir, to sell their products. There seemed to eventually be a consensus where crafts people agreed that they did do more

craft work during the conflict in Kashmir but hard times made them work in the fields as well as on their shawls simultaneously to make ends meet.

The conflict rendered a higher engagement of crafts people in production due to the risk of violence outside their homes, however in working more intensively on production; they were could be seen as creating capital. As mentioned they would probably have to wait for a buyer to buy their goods, and they probably would get paid less for their work than they did pre-conflict, however the products they made were of value. This could be seen as an impact of conflict, however distinguishing it as a negative impact or positive impact is highly subjective. Though in many ways it does indicate a higher level of vulnerability of the crafts people to the conflict and the risk they stand of being impoverished in case the conflict intensifies. Poorer sections of society often have little personal capital and conflict reinforces inequalities in society and could lead to social exclusion. It is important to note here though that resorting to crafts activities can be seen as a survival strategy being used by this vulnerable group. Gasser et al. (2004) indicate in the handbook for post conflict economic development, 'skills, different survival strategies and the physical, emotional and social well being of vulnerable groups that evolve during crisis periods are often not taken into consideration as a potential asset or tool in the stabilization process and force for recovery' (Gasser et al., 2004, p.182). This is particularly relevant to note as the proposition mentioned in the previous section attempts at rectifying this by proposing that crafts, which here have been shown as a survival strategy, can play an important role in reconstruction.

5.7.2 Impact of Migration from Perspective of the Makers

Yet another dimension of the impact of conflict was seen in businesses migrating out of Kashmir. Many people resorted to selling to wholesalers and retailers outside the valley of Kashmir. Few business people moved out of India in search of bigger markets. For the crafts people this migration created uncertainty and insecurity. While this can be observed as a negative impact, there is a positive element involved as well. Migrating businessmen find new markets (as shown in chapter four) for crafts, which over a period of time could mean more work for crafts people. This positive aspect was noticed by

crafts people who were aware of their high level of skills in weaving and embroidery and showed hope, if not confidence that migrant businessmen would return to Kashmir for the high skilled components of shawl production.

This shift in business operations has not however changed the manufacturing set up in Kashmir yet. Shawls were still being made in Kashmir; they were now being sold outside the valley. As the Resident Commissioner of Kashmir pointed out, ‘the markets were not coming to Kashmir, so the businesses moved out to look for markets’⁷⁸. Figures 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 support Mr Ghanai’s claim to some extent by showing an increase in employment, production and revenue. He spoke about the *pheri* tradition where in the seller goes out with his goods on a cart to sell, this tradition was prevalent before the organized sector for retail began, where traders would act as door-to-door salesmen to sell handmade goods. Thus the Kashmiri businessmen stepped out of Kashmir to sell these products in cities like Delhi, Goa, Mumbai, Jaipur, Kolkatta, Shimla and Bangalore, in the traditional *pheri* manner that they used in the past.

Two crafts people at Kanhihaama, Srinagar, echoed this alternative view that shows the impact of the conflict in an almost positive light. These crafts men mentioned the alternative view that in the short term migrating businessmen would seem like deserters however in the long term they could possibly find newer markets which could in turn bring bigger orders and prosperity to the crafts people. This atypical view needs to be understood in light of the profile of these crafts people. Both of these men were working in *Kaanhi* shawls. Labour intensive and perhaps the most expensive shawls to be made in Kashmir, these men take a year or more to make one piece. They are paid a monthly sum for labour and costs of raw materials are partly paid in advance by the businessmen. Thus these people are in a relatively secure position; owing to steadiness of income due to the time it takes them to complete one piece. *Kaanhi* shawls are exclusive products and are not commonly made or even available in India owing to their labour intensive technique of production, this characterises them as unique and can therefore be sold in niche markets. They therefore don’t create competition as few people know how to make them, thus *Kaanhi* weavers do not flood the employment

⁷⁸ See Appendix 1

pool. This reveals an element of subjectivity dependent on the craft type being produced.

5.7.3 Crafts in a Globalized World

Migration of businesses and also some crafts people has opened door to the world outside Kashmir. Kashmiri crafts people working in parts of Punjab have created imitation Kashmiri shawls, which cost less to make in terms of skills, time and money and are available at a much lower price. These shawls have become popular and some can even be bought in England. They have also diversified the designs to make other products using the same techniques; this means Kashmiri designs are used not only for shawls but also for stoles, ponchos, cushion covers, pillow cover, curtains, coats, jackets etc⁷⁹. This diversification could be due to exposure to other craft made products sold outside Kashmir that have evolved to be able to compete with other handmade goods and also increasingly machine made goods. Kashmiri crafts were previously made and sold in an exclusively Kashmiri market in the valley which catered to a domestic demand as well as tourist market; some craft made goods were exported. Migration of businesses places these products in a larger market where they compete against hand made goods from other parts of India.

The conflict here could be seen as creating awareness of the presence of a globalised economy to Kashmiri businessmen who migrated to other parts of India. Crafts which had led protected lives with markets coming to them in the form of tourists and orders for export now have the need to step away from this safety net and move into the next stage of development. The pre-conflict safety of markets and post conflict slump has enabled Kashmiri crafts to remain insular to changes in markets outside of this region. This change would have inevitably entered Kashmir if the conflict had not taken place. However due to the conflict this insularity has been challenged, which means crafts need to reassess where they stand and how to adapt, change to progress. This analysis is

⁷⁹ This was observed through visits to the local craft markets in Delhi, where imitation Jamavar shawls with quintessentially Kashmiri designs were being sold. These shawls were made in Ludhiana, Punjab, on jacquard power looms.

based on interactions with respondent businessmen and individuals working within crafts⁸⁰.

Crafts are now a major source of income generation for many people in Kashmir who often do not have any other marketable skills that would generate income for them. Gasser et al. (2004) mention that pre crisis economic trends and activities should be taken into account when planning development of a crisis-affected region. Accepting this advice would mean understanding crafts and the reasons for their popularity as a choice for employment and income generation in this post conflict economy.

5.7.4 Increasing Popularity of Craft Making

Crafts are part of what is commonly known as the informal manufacturing sector. This refers to sectors, which are easy to enter, are unregulated, small scale, competitive, and labour intensive (Chand, 1997). There are various reasons for the popularity of craft as a source of income generation in Kashmir. These are noted here to gain an understanding of why this sector of the economy remains a popular source of income generation and indeed increased in popularity in a post conflict economy.

The relative safety of working indoors is one of the most commonly cited reasons for pursuit of craft making (Fieldwork 2003, 2004). This has been mentioned previously.

The easy availability of raw materials needed for making crafts is yet another factor that continues to promote the industry today. Very few of the materials needed for manufacture are imported into the valley. Albeit, in the recent years dyeing has started to be outsourced for the shawl industry from New Delhi as mentioned in chapter four. Raw materials such as wool for spinning and weaving, local expertise in pattern and motif making, availability of yarn for embroidery, presence of skills for making wooden blocks for imprinting designs, availability of specialised looms and some amount of dyeing expertise means that Kashmiris could produce crafts without needing to venture

⁸⁰ See Appendix 1

too far out from their home towns. The fluidity of employment provides much needed mobility to labour as well as options to make additional income through craftwork.

The industrialization visible in other parts of India did not make too much of a difference in Kashmir. Industry in Kashmir was limited to production of silk, agricultural products as well as tourism. There was little if any heavy industry⁸¹ in Kashmir pre-conflict and there is little evidence of it now either. Heavy industry here refers to manufacturing activities engaged in the conversion of large volumes of raw materials and partially processed materials into products of higher value; hallmarks of this form of industry are considerable capital investment in large machinery, heavy energy consumption, and final products of relatively low value per unit weight.

This indicates that all mass manufactured products made in other parts of India had to travel far to reach the Kashmiri markets making them expensive, and also unavailable during the harsh Kashmiri winter. Thus demand for locally made goods still exists. India's booming markets for consumer goods and services and the rise of the information technology sector did not have a deep impact on Kashmir. The people in Kashmir still buy locally manufactured tweed and wool for their daily attire. The younger generation of Kashmiris do venture out into the cities of India to buy consumer goods, however locally made goods are still popular choices for most. This is yet another reason for the popularity of craft made goods.

Fieldwork research (2003-2006) revealed that many crafts people believe that crafts were declining in their ability to generate steady, sustainable and respectable livelihoods due to a lack of institutional support for a long time, even before the conflict started. A bureaucrat in the handicrafts development offices in Kashmir has previously confidentially mentioned that the problem of lack of support was compounded (and not

⁸¹ This lack of industrialization has been mentioned in the Government's economic survey report of 2007-08, 'The industrial growth in Jammu and Kashmir has remained subdued in the past. The contribution of this sector both manufacturing registered and unregistered to the GDP is around 6%. Among other factors geographical and topographical conditions hampered the industrial growth as heavy and large scale industries sector could not be tapped due to heavy financial investment involve also the atmosphere is more conducive to cottage and small scale industries. As a result Kashmir was lagging far behind the other industrially developed States and calls for no comparison with them' (Government of Jammu and Kashmir, 2007, p.24).

initiated) with the conflict in the State; this has been discussed in chapter two. However now crafts people validated this during fieldwork (2003-2006) by saying that the craft economy pre conflict was not a priority area for the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and thus was left to subsist on its own accord. This is a direct accusation at the Government and was met initially by cynicism on my part. However during the course of fieldwork visits and literature reviews little evidence was found of institutional support being provided to the crafts industry in Kashmir by the Government of the State even in the pre-conflict period. This reflects on the weak position of individuals who are involved in this sector and also the government's approach to this sector as a low priority or focus area, despite its vast potential.

5.7.5 Women Workers in Crafts

This is the most significant change in Kashmiri crafts brought about by the conflict and is central to this work. Crafts in Kashmir were always male dominated; the entry of women into this workforce, where they are now involved in weaving and embroidery, unlike before where they were only involved with cleaning the wool and spinning. This is new and is vital in understanding the post conflict economy of Kashmir as this is a change in employment dynamics in Kashmir and therefore is significant for the reconstruction of the state of Kashmir. Women are stakeholders in any rebuilding and development plans for the State of Kashmir.

The conflict has caused a shift in the gender ratio in terms of employment (Fieldwork 2004, Srinagar, Kashmir). Women have joined the crafts work force to generate income to support their families. This phenomenon of women joining the work force in a post conflict scenario, especially in the area of crafts is not unique to Kashmir. Women are known to be forced to work as primary breadwinners in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, in a post conflict scenario (Brown et al., 2005). In Colombia women have also joined to workforce as main breadwinners due to deaths and disappearances of male household members (Ibáñez and Moya, 2006). Craft production as a source of income generation in post conflict regions has also been seen in North Caucasus where Chechen women began trading in hand made clothing and household items (Layton, 2004). This has also

been observed in Saharawi camps where women refugees work in the textile sector to create clothing and have the potential to be self sufficient economically through this textile production (Thomas and Wilson, 1996). Women in Guatemala have also been known to trade in crafts to support their incomes (Thiruchandran, 2001). What is significant in all these examples is the fact that women trade in crafts in areas of conflict. This is the last vital change that has been evidenced in Kashmir due to the conflict.

The changes in crafts since 1987 have been subtle yet deep in terms of impact. The conflict has changed the economy. The work force has migrated and has changed in its composition. New challenges for the finding markets, an increasing dependence for income generation and a lack of support have changed this once well renowned and thriving component of Kashmir's economy into a confused and directionless state. Entering into the 21st century with two decades of conflict in its past, the crafts of Kashmir, which have followed traditional mechanisms for design, production and sale, have challenges to meet for which they need to adapt. The profile of Kashmir as a post conflict region compounds these challenges. Development and reconstruction attempts in this area could prove to be a challenge to agencies and individuals. The next section analyses the challenges faced by Kashmir as a post conflict region and how it compares to other regions of the world for such developmental work. This is particularly relevant for proposing further work in Kashmir and is also important as it depicts to some degree the long term impact of the conflict on Kashmir.

5.8 Challenges faced by Kashmiri Crafts

The challenges faced by crafts in Kashmir have been analysed here in two parts. The first looks at a craft made product and assesses it for problems and weaknesses. The second analyses the challenges faced by crafts due to the post conflict status of the region of Kashmir. The problems mentioned by the crafts people, the business men and the bureaucrats are thematically arranged here to gain a more holistic understanding of crafts. This assessment has not been done previously and thus is important in understanding the current crafts of Kashmir.

5.8.1 Product Assessment

5.8.1.1 Content. Product content includes the design and its execution, quality of finished product, role of product development in producing high quality design pieces. Each handmade shawl contains colours and patterns that make it unique. However this uniqueness is not stationary as imitations of good products often flood the market. This means that constant innovation is needed to keep products new, unique and appealing. Craft made products also have a life cycle, which means that they shall go through the process of sale, recognition, increase in sales and eventually saturation, which shall cause sales to decline. In Kashmir it was observed that all crafts people with only small variations were making similar products⁸². They cannot be held entirely responsible for this, as design decisions, identified previously, don't rest with them. Shawls have long lives as products; however changes in fashion that often influence buying decisions need to be considered to increase sales of shawls.

5.8.1.2 Design. Assessment of design begins with looking at the skills of the designers. Historically designs were developed through training and apprenticeship of craftspeople. Businessmen now tend to develop designs; this is not necessarily because of their design skills. Whilst their experience can not be ignored, skills in the field of design need nurturing and perhaps also training. Crafts people who spend time in executing designs have often spent time as apprentices and also therefore have experience in design appreciation. Design ownership by crafts people is an important component for promotion of crafts and allows for a deeper engagement within crafts on part of the makers (Dhamija, 2003). Crafts people mentioned that though there is creativity involved in the craft making, it was very limited in its scope due to design being dictated by the owners of the businesses. This has been previously discussed. According to Tyabji⁸³ design development and visual enhancement is not given a priority in Kashmiri crafts today. There is no value addition at any level apart from the use of embellishment. The form and function of the products does not see any change or experimentation. The designs often lack refinement in conceptualisation as well as

⁸² This aspect of repetitive product design without innovation is elaborated by Ballyn (2002) in his work on craft development.

⁸³ Personal communication, L.Tyabji, Dastakar, New Delhi, January 2003. (See Appendix 1)

execution. Low quality, cheap looking goods made by Kashmiri craftsmen were seen being sold in the market, thereby bringing disrepute to the crafts industry and lowering its standards.

5.8.1.3 Quality. There are low levels of quality and finishing and lack technological refinement in crafts according to Governor Saxena (Fieldwork 2003). The Governor defined the lack of appropriate technology and skills as the main cause of a declining crafts industry. He mentioned that making them semi mechanised should enhance handmade technologies. He used the example of Kashmiri tweed, which needs technology for carding the wool to make the fabric woven of a superior quality. The advantage according to him of Kashmiri crafts is the abundance of high level skills as well a readily available raw material which makes it possible to sell at competitive prices (Fieldwork 2002). Though simplistic in his approach to solving the problem of quality, there is some truth in the governor's recommendation for appropriate technology to be used for enhancing product quality. The need for appropriate technology to enhance product quality and design within Kashmiri crafts has also been discussed by Tyabji (1995) and Saraf (1998).

Crafts of Kashmir don't have standardised quality control systems that other textile industries seem to have. Standardisation of quality would enhance the saleability of their products. Their argument being that the scale of work being done within crafts in Kashmir indicates that substantial efforts should be made to promote standards and quality control within the textile crafts industry. This would include issues of recording colour palettes, processes, use of dyes, sizes of goods made, labelling indicating amongst other criterion which would make these products more appealing and credible for sale outside Kashmir⁸⁴. The Indian domestic market now includes foreign goods that compete with craft made goods (Bhagirathy and Sengupta, 2003). Products that fail to deliver on quality often fail in the markets. Craft made goods often jostle for space with machine made goods⁸⁵.

⁸⁴ This has been discussed as an important criterion for export by Hardy (2002).

⁸⁵ This is not a point for discussing man made versus machine made, but a point to bear in mind for crafts people everywhere.

5.8.1.4 Product Development. A lack of awareness of concepts of product development was observed. Businessmen were keen to get training in marketing however were seen to not engage in any market surveys or research which could be of benefit to them. The markets have changed and shifted in India and abroad, yet Kashmiri crafts seem to not be aware of these changes. According to Mir Basheer⁸⁶, this is a stumbling block for crafts today, wherein they need to be updated to be able to compete fairly. Market research, which would include analysis of products, development of designs, improvement of quality, reconsideration of price markers and innovations in technology are areas which were not explored in Kashmir. To operate on a larger scale and make sustainable profits, this sector needs to acknowledge the importance of product development.

5.8.1.5 Competition, Copyrights and Patents. Kashmiri crafts face stiff competition from other crafts of India. They also face competition from machine made goods as well as cheap mechanised imitations of craft made products. Machine made imitation shawls are widely made in India and abroad. These shawls look similar to Kashmiri shawls from far, however they are machine-made, jacquard woven shawls, and are very different from the craft made shawls of Kashmir. These imitations have a direct impact on credibility, quality and design of the real Kashmiri shawls.

The Kashmiri Pashmina is not trademarked or patented, which means that the word 'Pashmina' is used across India and other parts of the world, very loosely. Patents, trademarks and creative/ intellectual property rights are a problem area for crafts across the world and are not exclusive to Kashmiri crafts, however patenting and copyrighting the product could be the first step in starting to rebuild the reputation of this craft. According to Bhagirathy and Sengupta, India has introduced and modified its IPR (Intellectual property rights) laws to take care of traditional knowledge – largely biodiversity and medicinal knowledge, yet, crafts have not been given such a consideration (Bhagirathy and Sengupta, 2003). However the World Intellectual Property Rights Organization (WIPO) includes handicrafts as part of its expressions of folklore. Standardised IPR laws across countries through the Agreement on Trade

⁸⁶ Personal Communication, M.Basheer, New Delhi, February 2003.

Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) has been discussing the possibility of extending existing IPR provisions for the protection of crafts (Bhagirathy and Sengupta, 2003). Raising awareness amongst crafts people about IPR and copyrighting would help them protect their creativity against imitation. Training again is needed for this problem to be resolved.

5.8.1.6 Lack of Marketing Expertise. Most traditional businesses still sell through personal contacts as opposed to having a planned approach with a marketing and selling strategy for a target consumer base. There are no established networks of marketing; often one business identifies a new market. Other traders with the same products soon flood this. Kashmiri businessmen are known to sell products out of suitcases and plastic bags (Fieldwork 2004, 2005, 2006). This reveals a tradition of viewing crafts as a small scale industry with few products, which might have been true some years ago, however in light of the volume of production, seen in previous charts, crafts are a growing industry and the lack of marketing knowledge and skills creates major problems for this sector.

This section reveals the genuine problems within the craft industry today. It is important here as it throws light on the current status and issues within post conflict crafts. The problems and issues highlighted here are not unknown to crafts sectors outside Kashmir. Current Kashmiri crafts and their problems have not assessed in any studies thus far. This section thereby provides empirical information through assessment of craft in Kashmir today.

5.8.2 Conflict Related Challenges

This section looks particularly at the changes caused by conflict, which impact the economy of the State. This section contextualises the challenges that crafts in this region face on account of this region being a post conflict area. This also enables Kashmir as a post conflict region to be juxtaposed with other areas of conflict to see if the impact of the conflict has been unique here or if it is commonly seen.

5.8.2.1 Corruption. Widespread corruption that pervades all levels of the bureaucracy in Kashmir was noted during fieldwork (2003-2006). In an area that is hard pressed for income, a large number of bribes are often demanded for the smallest piece of information. Businessmen complained of it, as did the middlemen as well as the craftsmen in the shawl making trade. These three players in the craft industry have come across red-tapism at all levels. Interaction with government agencies for support of any kind is often beset by the need to bribe. For businessmen this would mean the occasional shawl being given as a bribe in exchange for permission to trade or for tax reasons. For middlemen this corruption is manifested in a similar way, though they cited cases of bribes being paid in kind (shawls) to military personnel at security checkpoints that they need to travel through in order to reach the crafts people's clusters. Crafts people often face a minor version of this corruption when they travel around the region either in search of employment or to source raw materials or even to return finished products to the businessmen. Travel in the region involves passing through various security checkpoints where bribes are often demanded. In Kashmir people have been issued with identity cards, which they have been ordered to carry with them at all times, this is for their safety and to deter outsiders/ militants from having access to the region. The issues of ID cards is too complicated to discuss here however what is important is to understand that issuing of ID cards is the job of a government beset by corruption. Bribes need to be paid to get ID cards issued, and not having one while being inspected could lead to humiliation, insults, harsh questioning and even imprisonment. This reflects on the power of the State, the disenfranchisement of the people and the complications it presents in promoting business and development. Ohiorhenuan and Kumar, who mention that already weak pre-conflict matrices of authority,

accountability and transparency are often eroded by conflict and replaced by a culture of impunity and corruption, reaffirm this phenomenon. They believe that as national cohesion and consensus break down, public officials begin to ignore the governance norms and focus instead on their own personal or parochial interests (Ohiorhenuan and Kumar, 2005). Corruption in a post conflict scenario leads to a breakdown of trust and lack of cohesiveness in the community and causes further alienation of vulnerable sections of society and also directly impacts business and trading in the region.

5.8.2.2 Diversion of Economic Resources. During the conflict, attention of the state and the central Indian government was focussed on issues of security. In all areas of conflict, the focus of the bureaucratic machinery is on the immediate problem of protection of its people. Economics and development are known not be priority areas in situations of conflict. While a violent conflict triggers a humanitarian response, development is often considered to be a peacetime activity. This is elaborated in Mary Anderson's framework for analysing capacities and vulnerabilities (Anderson and Woodrow, 1998). Where in there is a description and definition of the differences between needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of people living in areas of violent conflict. Needs here get a priority and refer to immediate requirements for safety, food, clothing, housing and medical care for survival, vulnerabilities refers to long term factors which affect the ability of the community to respond to events and capacities which are the strengths of the community on which to build future development (Maresko, 2004). Thus economics comes last when contrasted with safety and security of the people. Maresko (2004) on an analysis of the Liberian war states that development in conflict situations is often labelled as "reconstruction" or "rehabilitation" and although post conflict reconstruction is important work, these terms reaffirm the stereotype that development is a peace time activity (Maresko, 2004).

During fieldwork (2003-2006) many respondents established the fact that there was limited credit facility available to them. They were also keen to export more and were unaware of how to do so. Training in the sector of crafts would promote the development of human resources. Kusago (2005) looks at the implementation of these recommendations in Eritrea where the Government tried to promote the private sector

for export led growth. They needed to establish capital markets, develop human resources and diversify products for export. The problem Eritrean government faced was a lack of competitiveness and productivity in the manufacturing sector. This was reportedly due to the scarcity of skilled workers due to their diversion into war and conflict. This contrasts sharply with Kashmir, as the productivity in Kashmir of craft made goods has been steadily increasing due to various factors. There is no lack of skilled workers as was evident from the rising number of people employed within crafts that were seen in the previous sections. This means that Kashmir's reconstruction by promotion of crafts might have an advantage over other areas in post conflict recovery.

5.8.2.3 Natural Disaster versus Conflict. A conference on 'Post Disaster reconstruction: Meeting Stakeholder Interests'⁸⁷, held in Florence indicated economic reconstruction to have a low level of priority in post disaster areas. The focus of international agencies working in disaster-hit areas (natural and man made) is on reconstruction of the physical environment of the people. The emphasis is on providing food, shelter and medication. The next step of reconstruction is providing buildings and sanitation as well as clean drinking water to the local communities, and establishing safety of the people concerned. The economic aspects of a post disaster area are not a priority for reconstruction workers. It is assumed that the state/government/ local authority shall focus on this, as it is a long-term objective. This seems slightly logical in areas of natural disaster, however in areas of conflict, where poverty traps are easy to find, economic well-being and reconstruction of the area should also be a focus area for reconstruction agencies in order to promote sustainable peace.

What was established was that in a post conflict economy, development and its priorities are set differently. Different regions need assistance in different sectors; however development is focussed on the establishment of basic infrastructures to begin with and then enables promotion of the economy through activities that focus on income generation as well as productivity. This acts as supporting information for the

⁸⁷ Conference organized by the I-Rec Group at the University of Montreal and CESPRO at the University of Florence, the third International I-Rec Conference, 'Post Disaster reconstruction: Meeting Stakeholder Interests'. I presented a paper on Kashmir here and had the chance to interact with academics and practitioners who work in post disaster reconstruction.

proposition wherein income generation through crafts has been proposed as a possible pathway for Kashmir's reconstruction.

5.9 Summary

It could be surmised here that crafts could provide the opportunity for income generation, which could lead to economic reconstruction of Kashmir. This responds to yet another part of the research question which queries the possible role crafts can play in reconstruction of Kashmir.

This chapter set out to understand the impact of the conflict on Kashmir's economy and its crafts. It examined the changes within the craft sector that were brought about by the conflict in the region. The first half of this chapter looked at the generic impacts of the Kashmir conflict, which were found to be similar to other conflicts around the world. This led to the development of linkages between unemployment, conflict and poverty as well as development and culture. These were studied theoretically and within the context of Kashmir and led to understanding of the proposition. Here crafts have been indicated as having the potential to develop and reconstruct Kashmir's economy. The second half of this chapter examined the current status of Kashmiri crafts to see how this area has responded to the conflict in the region, thereby answering the research question. The study of the post conflict economy of Kashmir, especially with a craft focus has not been conducted before. Here the perspectives of the craft industry from the viewpoint of the crafts people, businessmen and middlemen have been included. The changes within the sector wrought by the conflict and the challenges they face as stakeholders within the crafts industry have been examined. Therefore the information generated in this chapter is empirical and contributes to the knowledge about this area. The proposition mentioned in this research has to some extent been substantiated by the study in this chapter by highlighting the significance and relevance of crafts in post conflict Kashmir.

Chapter 6 - The Role of Craftswomen in Post Conflict Kashmir

This chapter is about the craftswomen in Kashmir. It examines the role crafts plays in their lives in the post conflict situation and thereby attempts to answer the research question. In post conflict Kashmir an increasing number of women were seen to be working within the crafts sector. These women are new entrants to the sector and have chosen to work in crafts to generate incomes. The reasons behind this have been examined in this chapter. This chapter also examines the importance and relevance of crafts specifically to the women in Kashmir and what this means for future of Kashmiri crafts. This should be understood in conjunction with previous chapters that explored crafts. This chapter is important as it notes the most dramatic change in post conflict crafts of Kashmir. Involvement of women within the workforce of crafts places them centrally within the issue of reconstruction and development of Kashmir. Working and generating income empowers women and limits their marginalisation within society; it gives them a voice and allows them to be viewed as active stakeholders in the future of Kashmir. This chapter also explores challenges faced by women in entering the crafts sector and these have been thematically assessed within the chapter. This chapter forms an important component in the development of answers that the research question sought. Women in Kashmir were observed mainly at Zanana Dastakari Production Markaaz (ZDPM) (translation: women craft workers association) here on referred to as ZDPM, to understand how they have been affected by the conflict and the role craft now plays in their lives. ZDPM is based in Srinagar and has been specifically analysed as a case study.

This chapter comprises of two sections; the first looks at the case study of ZDPM. Here methodology of the case study and the rationale behind using it as a research tool has been discussed. The first section includes observational data from interviews. It also includes information about the training workshop conducted at ZDPM. These observations are critically examined in the second section. In the second section, primary research through fieldwork (2003-2006) and literature reviews of pre-existing theories about gender, conflict and development were used symbiotically to develop

analysis of the case study. Observations thereby have been contextualised to allow for a closer understanding of the data. This combination of empirical data with secondary data allows for a critical approach to be developed for analysing the data that emerged from the case study. Together these two sections inform the research question about the impact of conflict on women and analyse the importance of crafts to them.

This chapter attempts to compare and contrast Kashmiri women to other women across the world to understand how they cope with the need to generate income in an unsafe environment. Personal interviews and meetings with the Kashmiri Muslim women involved in crafts, based in Srinagar contributed to this chapter. The subjective reasons for choosing to work in crafts, which stems from the religious and cultural identities of these women has been analysed here. As Butalia states, any initiative for peace and resolution of the Kashmir conflict must take women into account and involve them centrally (2002). The Kashmir conflict has generated a vast amount of literature that is analytical and historical, however there is very little mentioned about the women of Kashmir (Butalia, 2002). Limited amount of work has been done to understand the impact of the conflict on the women of the state of Kashmir, despite the fact that research on conflict the world over has revealed that women are often the ones who are often most deeply affected by conflict. They are the ones who have to start the rebuilding process as they come to terms with the changed reality around them.

This chapter uses a qualitative approach through exploration of literature that exists about women craft workers, women in post conflict, vulnerable groups in crisis areas, women and identity, Islam and identity and other such thematic readings which could inform the research about the coping mechanisms that women in other parts of the world use to rebuild their lives after a conflict or disaster. These readings provided me with insightful questions about this topic with regards to Kashmir. Gender studies are a large body of work that was used selectively to understand how conflict impacts women to compare and contrast how women in Kashmir have been impacted. Literature included readings about the role of women in stabilisation and reconstruction by writings of Conway (2006) about Sierra Leone, El Salvador, Rwanda and East Timor, Moser and Clark (2001) about Guatemala, Nicaragua and Peru, Wali et al. (1999) about

Afghanistan, Brown et al. (2005) about Indonesia, Brun (2005) in Sri Lanka and Thiruchandran (2001) in Easter Sri Lanka. Date-Bah (ed.) (2003) studies employment in post war situations and includes studies by various authors in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Guatemala and Lebanon. While Gasser et al. (2004) have compiled a handbook for local economic development in post crisis situations, which include women as stakeholders. Post crisis should here be interpreted as post conflict, as conflict along with war and natural disasters comprises crisis (Gasser et al. 2004). Publication by Hans (2000) about women in Kashmir has been included here.

This research has an element of participatory approach. The methodology of the case study and the design of research developed specifically to conduct this case study and are included in this chapter. In the case study I had to allow for reflexivity as my own background could work as different ways, by both enabling and limiting women's voices. This means I needed to be open minded and willing to listen and hear and act on the results from the case study. I had to avoid presumptions and be aware of my own ability to shape or influence data. Thus reflexivity plays a significant role in this case study. The case study contains observations and a brief mention of rudimentary training⁸⁸ provided at ZDPM. It critically examines the challenges women face in reconstructing their lives through the use of crafts and the change in their status in Kashmir. It should be mentioned here that this research focuses on Kashmiri Muslim women in Srinagar and therefore does not include other women Hindu, Buddhist or Sikh who live in Kashmir or outside the region in the various refugee camps.

6.1 Case Study - Zanana Dastakari Production Markaz (ZDPM) – a critical analysis.

This case study was an important tool in understanding women craft workers. It allowed interpersonal interaction and observations and enabled a closer examination of women craft workers in Kashmir. As a thirty-year-old organisation that has worked in crafts development and women's empowerment ZDPM showed evidence of its experience in

⁸⁸ See Appendix 6 for content of the training workshop

craft work from pre-conflict times, this made the organisation relevant to be studied as a case study. More importantly ZDPM showed eagerness to be involved, observed and researched, which enables intensive research to be conducted, as respondents are keen and willing to respond and interact with the researcher. Women at ZDPM were open to conversations and long periods of time were spent over two years to observe, analyse and participate with these crafts women. The case study needed a separate methodology to allow for data gathering, analysis and validation. It also needed to link to the main research question and justify the need for it to be carried out as a part of this research. This case study is empirical and forms an important component of this work as it provides a glimpse into the lives of Kashmiri crafts women and studies post conflict crafts from their perspective. This research also attempts at providing a voice to these unseen and unheard women of Kashmir. The following sections look at methodology and design of the case study.

6.1.1 The Methodology of Case Study.

The research question contains a component that asks how the conflict has impacted crafts. Case studies are known to be useful when asking ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions, this is when the researcher has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2003). The contemporary phenomenon of women working in crafts as observed in ZDPM, in the real-life context of conflict indicated that studying them as a case study would enable me to examine this sector closely. It would also allow me to understand how the NGO works within crafts. Thus the case study aims to contribute to the knowledge of a group – the Kashmiri Muslim crafts women who were studied at ZDPM.

This case study reveals the challenges Muslim Kashmiri women face as they enter the crafts work force to generate an income. Causal links studied in the previous chapter between conflict, unemployment and poverty, which led to the development of the proposition, have been built upon within this study. Unemployment and poverty faced by women in Kashmir has led them to work within crafts. This is a gendered dimension of crafts working which originates from the need to generate income and thus has causal

links with the issues of employment and poverty mentioned earlier in the proposition. George and Bennet (2005) clarify this further, 'case studies examine the operation of causal mechanisms in individual cases in detail' (George and Bennet, 2005, p.21). It is important to indicate that this case study could not be marked as instrumental or intrinsic as established by Stake (cited in Denzin and Lincoln, (eds.) 2005, p.443); it was a mixture of both. This case study was undertaken mainly because of a fundamental interest in Kashmiri craftswomen. This could make this case study intrinsic. However the case study also instrumental as it provides insight into the issue of crafts and the impact of conflict in Kashmir. Thus it supports and facilitates a holistic understanding of crafts, as they are in Kashmir today. To make the case study more effective and efficient in its approach and use, attention was paid to design of the study to help gather evidence; this addresses the initial research questions.

The most important element of the case study is the voices of the crafts women, which have been included here. Voices, here is indicative of the narratives of women speaking, their accounts and their stories which were gathered. During fieldwork (2003-2006) I actively listened to craftswomen speak about their identities, life and work. These conversations and also the subliminal body language included in the observations (mentioned previously in chapter one) comprise the data, which was analysed and is presented here. However, there was awareness of the fact that data would be interpreted, analysed and presented into a discourse for the understanding of a predominantly Western audience. This allowed me to locate myself within the research as an interpreter or translator; here the element of self-reflexivity is vital to avoid pushing away the voices of the narrating women. According to Narayan a perspectival view of knowledge, which includes knowing who you are and where you are situated in the research makes a difference to the knowledge produced (Narayan, 1989). This is directly relevant to data analysis as well; here the subjective and interpretive nature of the research conducted in the field has come forth. However it is now well recognised that all research contains biases and values and that knowledge and understanding of it are contextually and historically grounded as well as linguistically constituted (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998). Thus the observations in the case study are prone to

subjectivity, yet an awareness of this pitfall has been included to allow for clarity of voices to come across.

6.1.2 The Design of the Case Study

Case study design was informed by literature searches in works of Denzin and Lincoln, (eds.) (2005), Creswell (2003), Yin (2003) and George and Bennet (2005). This literature assisted in the development of the components of research presented here. These combine to reveal how and why the case study was conducted, who/ what was studied and how data gathered was analysed. It also links to propositions made in the previous chapters to locate the case study within this research and highlight its importance in holistically understanding the impact of conflict on Kashmir and its crafts. It also includes weaknesses that were evidenced in conducting this case study.

6.1.2.1 Research objective: The case study seeks information about the impact of the conflict on crafts women. Women working in crafts have changed the profile of the workforce of the crafts industry in Kashmir. Therefore this case study more specifically explores the importance of crafts for women in light of the conflict in the region of Kashmir. It examines their as stakeholders in the reconstruction of Kashmir. Women craft workers in post conflict Kashmir have not been studied or researched yet; this gap in the current state of knowledge is therefore also an objective of the case study. It is also seeks to identify the reasons why women have chosen craft working as an employment area.

6.1.2.2 Intent: The case study intends to understand and examine the various factors that influence women into joining the crafts sector. The case study also intends to take into account the limitations women might face on account of their identity as Muslim, Kashmiri women. The last proposition undertaken by the case study is to identify the needs of the craftswomen to further develop within the sector of crafts and earn sustainable incomes.

6.1.2.3 Criteria for Identification of Unit of Analysis: Search for suitable units of analysis reveals ZDPM as one that suits the criteria. The criteria here being of a non-

government organisation, working within crafts, with women craft workers. This organisation was used as a case study as it reflects strongly on the impact of conflict on women and the significance of crafts as a sector of employment. However it needs to be mentioned here that ZDPM is the only crafts related non-government organisation (NGO) for women that operates in Kashmir. Thus the selection was not made from a wide number of choices. However ZDPM's strength lies in its profile as a promoter of crafts for income generation, which was the basis of its selection. This study includes the crafts women working in ZDPM and the management of this organisation. It focuses on the crafts production that ZDPM is involved in. Though the case study included a mention of the orphanage and school that the management of ZDPM also own and run, these have not been discussed or focussed on. No comparisons have been drawn from previous studies of Kashmiri women due to a lack of research literature available about crafts women in post conflict Kashmir.

6.1.2.4 Sources of evidence: Little documentary evidence was collected from ZDPM, along with catalogue album of their designs. Targeted interviews including observations were conducted over a period of two years. Participant observation was conducted in the last stages of interaction through a brief training session to allow for insight into interpersonal behaviour and also assess how this group would receive training. Most observations consist of tape recordings of conversations, photographs and fieldwork (2003-2006) notes.

6.1.2.5 Links to the proposition and variables: Data gathered has been linked to the propositions made earlier about conflict, poverty, unemployment and the role culturally relevant activities can play in alleviating poverty and possibly mitigating conflict. Here women as income generators are considered as stakeholders working towards poverty elimination by being involved in crafts. Employment here could provide a break in the cycle of poverty and violence mentioned in the previous chapters, create empowerment for women and also promote crafts. This case study employs variables of identity, religion, gender in a post conflict scenario to further understand how these affect crafts women in Kashmir and how this defines their role in post conflict Kashmir.

6.1.2.6 Criteria for interpreting findings: Awareness of biases that could enter interpersonal interaction established the need for reflexivity, which allowed me to interpret data objectively. Findings were analysed through study of pre-existing theories in the area of conflict, post conflict, gender and cultural studies. Thus findings were juxtaposed against the current body of work that exists as literature around the themes that emerged from the study. Multiple sources were asked similar questions and observations were staggered to allow for respondents to be observed individually and also as a group. Data sources included management and data gathered from them was triangulated within the management's response as well as with the crafts women's responses. This allowed for facts to be corroborated from various findings and sources.

6.1.2.7 Weaknesses and Limitations of the case study: the case study was identified by me for studying crafts women in post conflict Kashmir and could suffer from a 'selection bias'⁸⁹ which could be problematic in achieving objectivity. This case study is representative of a small section of Kashmir's female population and only makes tentative conclusions, which restrict application of findings in a generic fashion. Here broad applicability has been traded-off in order to develop cumulatively contingent generalisations that apply to the well-defined types and subtypes of cases with a high degree of explanatory richness (George and McKeown, 1985, cited in George and Bennet, 2005, p.31).

6.1.3 ZDPM – Observations

ZDPM focuses on assisting low-income crafts producers, who are women, through crafts development and marketing. Most women they work with are poor, uneducated and unskilled. Destitute women and widows are involved in manufacturing textile crafts. Here women observed to be mainly involved in embroidery on all kinds of fabrics. ZDPM does not own any looms and therefore no women were seen to be weaving. Instead the organisation buys fabric, which is dyed and encourages women to

⁸⁹ For definitions of selection bias and research within this area of enquiry see GEORGE, A. L. & BENNET, A. (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, Massachusetts, MIT Press. See also ACHEN, C,H & SNIDAL, D. (1989) Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies, *World Politics*, Vol.41(2): 143-169

embroider this. ZDPM have provided its women members with rudimentary training in embroidery and stitching. They are unaware of concepts of product design or marketing, thus face problems in selling the products they manufacture. Images of crafts women and people who work in ZDPM are included towards the end of this chapter (Fig 6.2-6.13)

ZDPM has over 500 workers, all of whom are women who are over nineteen years of age, apart from the male managing director Firdaus Punjabi and Abdul Aziz the free lance designers who helps develop designs for embroidery. A majority of women at ZDPM have basic levels of literacy. While under training women are provided 50 pence a day and snacks, once trained they earn Rs3000 per month (£35 approximately⁹⁰). ZDPM has six permanently employed trainers. They also run an orphanage at their Khanyar, Srinagar location for 4 -16 year old boys, of whom they have twenty-six. They have a school for these boys at Pampore, Srinagar where education, school uniforms and medical care is provided to the boys free of charge. They also have four girls under their care who have recently been sent to foster homes, where ZDPM provides financial support to the foster parents. Conversations at the organisation were held in Kashmiri, Urdu, Hindi and English. Most women had limited knowledge of the English language and conversed in a combination of the first three languages mentioned.

ZDPM gets financial support from its member donors. They have no access to external funding and are unaware of funding resources that are available to organisations such as themselves, locally, nationally or internationally. Their limited knowledge and resources have meant cutting of financial corners at various levels. This monetary restriction means that reaching out to other government and non government agencies in New Delhi is expensive thus often of low priority. ZDPM provides free training for women in the area of crafts, financial assistance with medical bills and education of children, as well as with marriages of their daughters. The raw materials needed for craft manufacture as well as training is provided free of cost by ZDPM to the women. This NGO aims at providing multi faceted support to the women in Srinagar, Kashmir. The

⁹⁰ Based on Exchange rates from www.xe.com 10/03/2006

organisation has financial limitations and spoke about their need to make contact with other organisations like them, to share learning and resources.

ZDPM had, for a brief period of time, provided craft made goods to Oxfam, UK and benefited from the marketing and sales of their products that Oxfam provided. However this relationship broke down over a disagreement over pricing, which according to them was because Oxfam allegedly felt the prices were too high. Thus the NGO has developed the ability to manufacture goods and export them. They are also aware of the larger income that can be generated through exports. Thus they were keen to gain skills in the area of product development and marketing.

The primary area of assistance that the NGO requested assistance with was for training in the area of designing and marketing. This echoes the needs of the male craft workers and businessmen from chapter four for marketing. It was understood that such training would promote enterprise within the NGO and shall lead to an increase in income generation of the women. The aim of the NGO was also to provide long-term sustainable income generation thorough skill enhancement. This would provide self-sufficiency and decreased dependence.

The women were Muslim and thus their interaction with male trainers was provided in presence of a female member from the management team of the NGO. ZDPM revealed a protective approach in their thinking in order to safe guard the safety and also the 'honour' of the women who work for them. Interviews with members of the NGO revealed that they were keen to receive support and assistance, but were also guarded in their acceptance of help. They pointed out the additional role they play in their families as single parents and carers and thus any work and training had to bear this in mind. One respondent, who wished to remain unnamed, mentioned that she could not abandon her family to seek work, but the need to work was also essential in order to support her family. She found craft working to be suitable as it allowed her to do both, care for her family and generate an income, simultaneously.

The women spoke about the need to be home before dark for safety reasons, their inability to commute too far or to stay away from home for long periods of time. A few respondents mentioned feeling unsafe after sunset and therefore preferred working hours that would allow them to reach home before sunset.

The managers within the NGO mentioned that they do not pay a daily wage, but any possible training in the future would have to bear in mind the per diem earnings of a craftsperson to take time away from work to attend training. It was also noticed that familiarity with the women during the course of interaction increased their confidence and they were keen to talk about their experiences of the conflict. Most of them were keen to be educated and felt high levels of financial pressure.

My identity as a Kashmiri woman proved to be useful in gathering data as women at ZDPM thought of me as one of them and called me *behen* which means sister. My religious affiliation, which to them is apparent in my physical appearance, did not reflect in any way on the communal divisions in Kashmiri society, wherein no discrimination was observed in their acceptance of me as a researcher. My physical appearance led to several comments when I was introduced to the group, where in women said, '*shakal se Panditayan nazar aati hain*' which means, her face reveals she is a Kashmiri Pandit woman. However they were quick to point out the fact that as a Kashmiri woman my interest in them was indicative of the existence of a shared identity of being Kashmiri, whereby I had come to study them and listen to their voices despite the religious division between Hindus and Muslims, which Kashmir has seen in a post conflict period. They observed that my educated background reflected on my identity as Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) were known for the importance they give to education. This was evident from Mutahira's statement when she said, '*aap to Kashmiri pandit hai, is liye aap padhi likhi hain, hum logon mein aisa nahin hai*' which translated means, you are a Kashmiri Pandit which is why you are educated, in us people (Muslims) this is not always so.

6.1.4 Training Workshop

ZDPM was keen to receive training for the women crafts people who work for them. Limitation of time and finances had prevented me from developing this during the first few interactions at ZDPM. Observations from visits had provided me with an understanding of ZDPM and also the challenges faced by women working here. However at a later stage a brief training workshop over a period of a few days, which consisted largely of a few group interactions, one-to-one conversations and brief introductions to basic concepts of product design. The workshops acted as an assessment exercise to understand the importance of crafts to the women, their current skill levels, training needs and to gain an insight into what the women of Kashmir need and want in order to generate sustainable incomes from craft making. Although it did not form the core of this research, it allowed me to gather data as a participant observer as well. The content of this training can be seen in appendix six.

The workshops were devised to provide knowledge of concepts of design and introduce women to the idea of product development. This training was drawn from personal experience and from manuals on craft development by the ILO, Srishti School of Design as well as the Craft Design Institute in Jaipur. Initial assessments revealed that basic workshops would be required to prevent intimidation through information overload amongst the women. During the workshops women worked hard at grasping concepts which were new to them. During the course of the workshops the shift from gazing in wonder to volunteering to work independently was apparent. The instant empowerment and increase in confidence levels was easy to determine even after a few days of training. One respondent mentioned that what she previously thought as being '*namumkin*' (impossible) at the start of the training, now felt confident enough to execute designs on her own after the training. Yet another respondent decided that she would reserve her judgement about the training, till she has had the time to independently execute what she had learnt.

Examples of work from other craft organisation in India like Anokhi, Shrujan, Kala Raksha, Dastakar were shared through images as well as product samples to make

women aware of other crafts women outside Kashmir and also to see the high levels of skills which are used in making crafts even outside Kashmir. Most women have never been outside their own city and thus are unaware that they share their plight with many other women in India and abroad. The women expressed an element of surprise and also of camaraderie where in they saw other women facing dilemmas similar to their own. They were given instances of work done previously by Sahba Hussain and Urvashi Butalia in the area of conflict mitigation (Butalia 2002) wherein a dialogue was instigated between the women of Northeast India (another conflict zone) and the women of Kashmir. 'For the women in from the north east, the fact that their region has had a long standing tradition of women's groups [...] has meant that that they have been able to mobilize in ways that seem impossible for the Kashmiri women who have no tradition of organising at the village level, and who face the combined wrath of the patriarchal practices of all men surrounding them, whether militants, or security forces, of their own families, or indeed the state' (Butalia, 2002, p.xxi). This brought a sense of empathy and decreased levels of self-pity that some women had. It also brought role models and real life stories into their lives.

It was observed that the women were ambitious and keen to change their lives. They were aware that their financial future is linked to their ability to adapt and gain skills needed to generate income. Time and monetary limitations of this research restricted these workshops to a few days. The workshops revealed keenness on part of the women to learn and the very real need for training in design and marketing that they have in order to use crafts as a means of sustainable income generation. It also revealed the socio cultural limitations faced by them. Their training needs are guided by the limitations, which they face on account of their identities.

6.2 Analysis of Data

This section comprises of analysis of data, which was revealed through the case study in interviews, observations and training workshop. Analysis is grounded in the pre-existing theories about gender in conflict areas, which allows for an in-depth understanding of Kashmiri crafts women, yet also enables them to be juxtaposed with

women in other areas of conflict, allowing for contextualisation and highlighting of any unique perspectives which may emerge as a result.

6.2.1 The Impact Of Conflict On Women

This has been partly discussed in chapter three, however here this impact has been critically examined in greater detail. It is widely accepted now that women rarely create or initiate conflict, they, along with children and the aged, are often the victims and sufferers of the conflict (Date-Bah, 2003). Despite not being the instigators of conflict or perpetrators of war, worldwide women and girls make up more than half of the estimated 44 million refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced people (Wali et al., 1999). ILO studies have confirmed that in areas of conflict there is a drastic decline in the male population and an increase in the number of female-headed households (Date-Bah, 2003). This has been evident in Central Sulawesi (Indonesia) where women have been forced to work as primary bread winners wherein they need to travel long distances through dangerous areas (Brown et al., 2005). Thus the need for women to work to generate income in Kashmir is not an exception.

One of the key findings of the UNDP Gender Thematic assessment conducted in Central Sulawesi in 2004 was that in areas of conflict the social, political and economic role of the women shifts from domestic spaces to public spaces, where women now have the opportunity to generate income. The assessment found women to have more freedom of movement than men (Brown et al., 2005), this holds true in Kashmir, where though sometimes harassed, most women are not subjected to as much suspicion and searching by the security forces as men. This ability to move, and generate income, gives women more decision making power within the household and the community. This is the case in Kashmir. This changed role of women is a direct outcome of the conflict. This could be seen a positive outcome of the conflict as it allows women to enter and negotiate spaces to which they previously had little access. However this freedom of movement provides challenges that arise out of the identity of these women. These have been discussed in the following section.

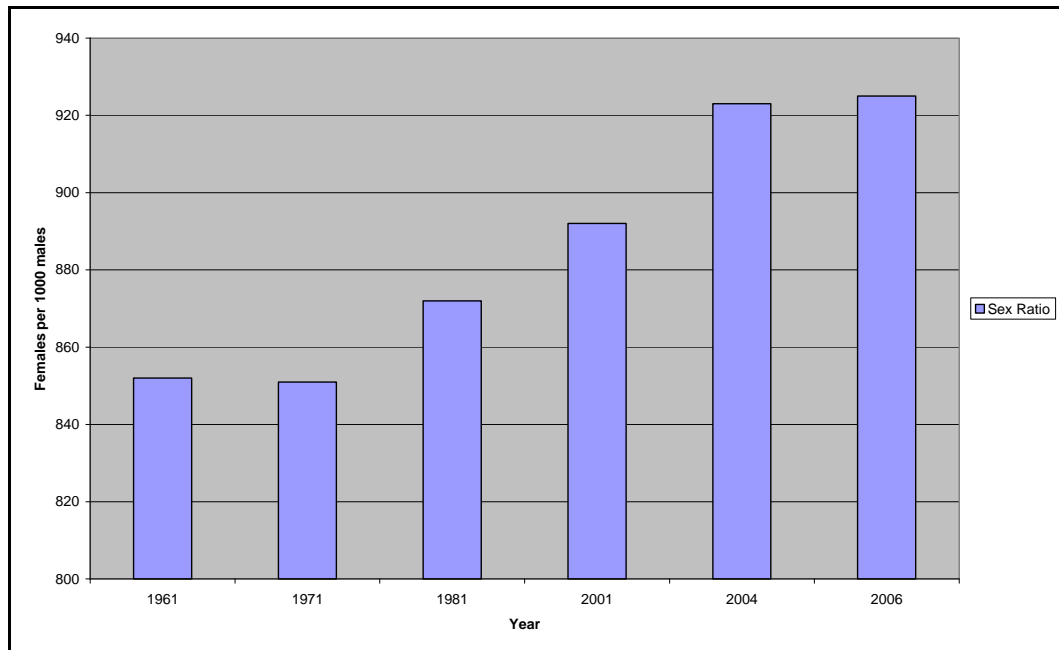
6.2.2 Traditional Role of Women

Kashmiri women though of independent thinking, traditionally lead protected lives. These women seldom worked as employees and though educated (Fig 6.14), had rarely undertaken formal employment (Fig 6.15). They were considered wholly responsible for decisions to be made within the household about domestic chores, caring for the very old and the very young members of the family, making travel plans for vacations, handing out salaries for the domestic help, planning the education of their children, arranging the marriages of their children, siblings and relatives, collecting and making their trousseau, planning savings and expenditures etc. It is significant to note here that the logistics of planning and managing income and expenses, large scale weddings, education and securing savings require skills which Kashmiri women displayed in the past. This ability to organise, manage and delegate, drawn from past experiences, acts as strength for the Kashmiri women today. This contribution to the domestic sphere by women was initially not seen as a significant indicator of their abilities by women at ZDPM. However reflection on this aspect of their lives later created an acknowledgement of this attribute.

6.2.3 Changes in Sex Ratio

As mentioned in chapter three, the conflict, according to the Government of India's Press information, has changed the sex ratio; male deaths mean that an increasing number of women are now head of households and the main (and perhaps the only) wage earners in the house. More men were involved in the conflict – as participant militants or innocent bystanders over the 17 years of conflict in Kashmir. This aspect of change in sex ratio is covered in depth in chapter three, here it is only re-iterated to contextualise this study contained in this chapter and is depicted in Fig 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Changes in the Sex ratio in Kashmir



According to the Human Rights Watch Report for 2006 on India, nearly 85 percent of all deaths from militant attacks in Kashmir have been of Kashmiri Muslims. Communal aspects of the conflict in the 1990s meant that the people of minority religions, especially the Hindus left the valley of Kashmir. This means that Kashmir is now essentially a wholly Muslim state, of these, the majority is women and these women are now the main bread winners for their families.

6.2.4 New Role as Household heads.

Women in Kashmir are now de-facto heads of households. This means that apart from the role of carers they now have the additional role of the main income earner in the house. This shifts the balance within the family where in decision making powers are now held by women. This changes their perception in society as it alters power equations in favour of women, which is a change in tradition. They provide finance, run households and also are the source of emotional support to members of their families.

Women at ZDPM observed this shift from domestic role, which promoted virtues of silence, obedience, chastity, domesticity and motherhood. Men were traditionally considered as protectors, income earners who provided continuity of income and security, in their absence women now fulfil these roles. This was also noted in Eastern Sri Lanka by Thiruchandran (2001). Thiruchandran notes that in Sri Lanka this shift in responsibility has enhanced women's self worth and has empowered them. Such a positive shift was not noted in Kashmir, while women do feel that their wage earning abilities allow them to provide for their families, the emotional baggage they carry often allows them to see themselves as victims. They do not show any indication of a higher self worth yet. The word '*bechaari*' which means poor thing and denotes pity was used often. It was used in describing women by the management at ZDPM and was also occasionally used by women themselves.

6.2.5 Sexual Violence and Psychological Trauma

In Eastern Sri Lanka women who have lost their spouses and the protection they provided stand the risk of being seen as sexual objects (Thiruchandran, 2001). This was not seen in Kashmir, where women still command respect and are seen as victims of conflict and are therefore recipients of pity from other women and men. Women interviewed during fieldwork (2005,2006) reported that they have not faced security threats as sexual objects from other Kashmiris, however they feel insecure and vulnerable when confronted by military personnel. Reports of rapes and the use of sexual aggression from Kashmir have been published by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International that substantiate these claims. This gender based discrimination and use of women as targets of sexual crimes is a common finding in areas of conflict and has been studied by Brun (2005) in Sri Lanka and Conway (2006) in Sierra Leone and Rwanda. Human rights violations against women includes illegal arrest and detention, torture, rape, disappearances, force labour, sexual and political harassment, looting and deprivation due to political affiliation, ethnic origin or death of their spouses. This targeting is because assaults against women, the reproductive force of societies, are humiliating for their communities. Sexual violence is also a form of economic violence that has significant effects on women's economic power and

resources (Date-Bah, 2003). This should be seen as yet another fall out of the changed nature of conflict discussed earlier, wherein civilian populations suffer in conflict as conflicts are fought within communal spaces. Date-Bah goes on to mention that physical injuries, rape and forced pregnancies disturb women's reproductive roles and thereby also restricts their opportunities to marry or to have children, thus jeopardizing their property rights as in many societies these rights are regulated by customary laws and are linked to the male members of the family.

This is particularly true in Kashmir where Islam dictates the customary laws of marriage, remarriage, adoption and inheritance. Women at ZDPM initially spoke about this only in reference to others; this was reflected during one-to-one comments and conversations where women often described the personal problems faced by others owing to their status as Muslim widows of the conflict and only in two instances as victims of sexual violence. The subjects of these conversations initially did not speak of their personal problems and these were not raised by me to respect their privacy, however they later spoke about their problems in a one-to-one setting and mentioned the trauma they have incurred which has led to frustration and unhappiness.

Many women have been in direct or indirect contact with violence. The physical vulnerability of the women puts them at a higher risk in a violent area. Women in ZDPM spoke about the insecurity they feel which arises out of living in Kashmir. They had heard news about sexual crimes in the valley and feared their safety. The presence of security forces, who they believed had limitless authority to interrogate and question women, made them nervous. During one interaction they spoke about their hatred of the Indian military and also the militants some of who were not even Kashmiri according to them. Women mentioned their desire for peace and safety, which could allow them to rebuild their lives.

Apart from physical trauma conflict has also caused emotional distress and PTSD in many women. PTSD or Post Traumatic Stress Disorder⁹¹ is a psychological trauma,

⁹¹ See GILES, W. (2003). *Feminists under fire exchanges across war zones*. Toronto [Ont.], Between the Lines. <http://libaccess.mcmaster.ca/login?url=http://site.ebrary.com/lib/oculmcmaster/Doc?id=10134686>. [Accessed 21/09/07]

faced by people who survive emotional and physical crisis. Researchers at WISCOMP have studied incidences of PTSD. Kaul-Bhatia from WISCOMP spoke about her observations in Kashmir of women suffering from PTSD and about the wide spread mental disorders in Kashmir due to the conflict at the WISCOMP Roundtable in Delhi. The emotional and psychological trauma caused by such circumstances requires acknowledgement, support and treatment. Posttraumatic stress disorder, which is commonly seen in post disaster situations, is highly evident in Kashmir (Butalia, 2002). The psychological impact on the women was discussed informally during workshops, and was also spoken about when gathered as group during lunch and tea breaks. Women spoke about their need to support their children who ask questions about the conflict and about missing family members. They worry about the younger children not understanding the conflict and its very real threat to life. They did not speak about long term impact of the conflict on their children in psychological terms. However they reflected on the loss of memory and a lack of remembrance that the younger children have of their male relatives.

While this section indicates the physical and emotional impact of the conflict on women in Kashmir, it simultaneously indicates the pressures felt by women in their personal lives, which are only exacerbated by their impoverishment. The need to cope with trauma and also earn an income creates a challenge for women. In this pressured environment they have chosen to work within crafts, this indicates that crafts provide them with a solution to one aspect of their needs.

6.2.6 The Role of Islam and Moral Expectations

The Kashmiri society had traditionally cocooned and sheltered its women, more so in the case of the Muslim population. There are no castes in Kashmiri society, neither in the Hindus, nor in the Muslims. Minor distinctions of basis of occupation are used to identify people; however these distinctions are in no way similar to the caste system in the rest of India in terms of definitions and rigidity. The Kashmiri Muslim women follow the teachings of the Quran, which defines the role of men and women in society in detail. Men have a directing role over women (Qwammah), which is the role of

leadership and provision for the family that a man has to play in a marriage (Surat Al-Nisa':4, Ayah 34). In most cases he is older and it is the husband who is usually the breadwinner of the family and mixes with a wider range of people, while women would traditionally interact more usually with other women within the family or female friends. Very rarely would women interact with strangers, especially men. This is significant as this inappropriateness or unknown method of social interaction between the sexes acts as a limitation for development, in terms of training and developing entrepreneurial skills within the women. This traditional and religious set up of the Kashmiri society can be seen even today in Srinagar, in families where the women don't work and often do not leave the house. This is more commonly seen in families who are financially well off and thus do not need the wages earned by a female family member. This was evidenced through observations alone of women in the family⁹² I lived with in Srinagar while working in Kashmir.

It has to be understood here that Indian society has varied levels of expectations from women as opposed to men, which might be in common with other areas of the world but it would be digression to discuss this here. In India men are often allowed to be disrespectful to their elders, to be dismissive of social and religious norms, however women are expected to be dutiful and obedient and mindful of the norms of society at all times. In Kashmir some women have been punished for not adopting Islamic dress codes as demanded by militant groups (HRW Report, 2006). Kashmiri women were and are constantly watched and judged when present in public. They are expected to be religiously inclined and more pious than the men. Interviews of young men in the Kashmir University revealed that many of them are not overtly religious; however they did hope to rectify this by getting married to someone who would be more pious than them and help modify them into better Muslims (Personal Interviews, Kashmir University, 2003). Women at ZDPM who spoke about the marriages and the process of arranging them confirmed this. Elders of the house often seek spouses for their children or grandchildren, women spoke about the popularity of well-behaved and pious women as prospective brides. Women who wore the headscarf, had no makeup and seldom appear unaccompanied in public were perceived by men as 'good Muslim women'. The

⁹² Confidentiality request on part of this family prevents inclusion of further details here.

observation went further than being just a good Muslim woman. Judgement about female character was made not only on the basis of appearance but also on the company that she kept which decided if she was from a 'good family'. Thus women carry not just the responsibility of being good practising Muslims, but also uphold the reputation of their families on the basis of just how they dress, where they appear, at what time of the day and with whom. There was a distinct impression, through the conversations of women, that the men in Kashmir have self-assumed the role of moral and religious vigilantes of Kashmiri society. This is not unique to Kashmir only and has echoes amongst other Muslim societies⁹³ such as in Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Malaysia as well as Pakistan. Hans (2000) mentions that according to the more rigid understanding of Islam impure women were of no use to the *Qwam* (nation). This is also echoed by Dupree (2002) who mentions that women are often used as standards against which morality is judged in Afghanistan.

In a study of Kashmiri Islam and women Hans (2000) speaks about Kashmiri Islam prior to the conflict as being Sufi in its leanings, which meant there was no incidence of polygamy, or use of repetitive occurring of *Talaq* to get divorced and allowed people to remarry. The conflict according to Hans has brought about a more rigorous version of Islam, which propagates the use of the veil (*Hijab*). This rigid version of Islam disapproves of abortions even in the cases of rape and equates rape to the loss of honour and thus a reason for not being allowed to marry or remarry. The women in ZDPM reflected upon the changes in Islam during the conflict and seemed to be in agreement with Hans's observations. They spoke about a lack of socially acceptable choices over dress, travel, prayers and other such elements of their lives, which had changed with the shift in the nature of Islam in the region. It is interesting to note here that none of the craftsmen interviewed earlier commented on religion in any possible way.

Before the conflict women rarely left the confines of the house unescorted. Domestic male helpers were employed, when affordable, to do household chores which required

⁹³ See HIRSI ALI, A. (2006). *The caged virgin: an emancipation proclamation for women and Islam*. New York, Free Press, BODMAN, H. L., & TAWHIDI, N. (1998). *Women in Muslim societies: diversity within unity*. Boulder, Colo, Lynne Rienner Publishers, BANO, A. (ED.) (2003) *Status of women in Islamic society*. New Delhi : Anmol Publications

stepping out of the house. Alternatively male members of the household did these chores. All this again is in accordance to the teachings of Islam where in the woman has the, 'noble task entrusted to her by Allah of child bearing and motherhood' (Surat Al Nisa':4, Ayah 34). She is also the lord of the house and it is her task to care for the family and prepare the home as a place of comfort. She has duties towards her husband and children and these responsibilities should (and are) given precedence over other responsibilities. The women in Kashmir do believe that the stability of their family and home depends on their role as mother, wife and daughter. They however are now faced with a dilemma. They need to leave the confines of the house in order to generate an income. This often means children are left in care of their grandparents and younger siblings (Kaul-Batra, 2002). This has a knock on effect as younger children are often not sent to school, as they are required at home for caring and running the house (Kaul-Batra, 2004). This clash of religious ethics with the reality of living in a post conflict situation was observed as a cause of immense pressure, dilemma and trauma for the women of Kashmir.

6.2.7 'Half' Widows from the Perspective of Islam

Deaths of many men also mean a large number of widows currently live in Kashmir. There are also a large number of women who are identified as 'half widows', these are women whose husbands are assumed dead but there exists no proof to show they actually are (Butalia, 2002). This has a deeper significance as these women shall not be allowed to remarry for a long period of time, which is usually till when the body of the husband has been found and buried. According to women interviewed, exceptions can be made to the rule depending on who the religious head of the locality is, what the reputation of the husband was, what the reputation of the woman in question is and also how much time has passed since the disappearance of the husband, in that order. This has far reaching consequences not just for the woman, per se but also for any children she might have from this marriage. Adoption rules are also mentioned in the Quran and these are rigidly adhered to in Kashmir according to male and female respondents in Kashmir. This is yet another far-reaching impact of the conflict on the female survivors.

At ZDPM the manager spoke about half widows who work in their organisation. The women he mentioned were divided in their opinion, some of them accepting that their husbands would not return and were possibly dead, while others lived in hope. This phenomenon of denial, which can alternatively be seen as hope, amongst women reflects on the psychological trauma mentioned earlier. Here their acceptance of their status as widows could be seen as an attempt to reconcile and rebuild their lives. While denial could be perceived as discomfort within the new roles demanded of them and a desire for the old systems of protection and maintenance provided by husbands. Yet the religious and complications that arise from being a half widow go deeper into the psyche of the women and impact them in various complex ways. Younger half widows in Kashmir who have children and spoke about the hesitation they feel in thinking about getting married again. Acceptance of children from a previous marriage has strict religious rules about their rights to inheritance if a child is born within the new wedlock. They worried about how any decision to remarry shall have an impact on their children in terms of acceptance, inheritance, treatment within the family and also their legal status if their father does return at some point of time. Half widows without children spoke about remarriage as a remote option as their status complicated their getting married again. Here religion plays a pivotal role in the future of Kashmiri women. They understood that earning a living, through working in crafts at ZDPM, would provide them with some element of control over their immediate future and would assist them in providing for themselves and their children. This reflects on the important role craft working plays in their lives by showing to be a positive component of their lives over which they have some degree of control.

This new role, of working and earning, that women have to play is explained within their religion as well. For example religious texts ordained that a woman's body, except her face and the hands, should be covered in front of all except those who are *mahram* (those she is forbidden to marry). And that she should not sit in private with a man who is not *mahram* (Surat Al Nisa':4). This limitation has to be understood in its context while attempting to understand that in this role as the head of the household, the woman might have to possibly interact with members of the opposite sex to whom they have no relation for employment or training. This is highlighted in the following case - a

woman⁹⁴ from ZDPM who had a high school qualification spoke about her experience at a local office where she had applied for a job, the man who interviewed her asked her to find a suitable man and get married. She did argue about the need for her to earn to support her parental family, however she was told gently that employing her as the only unmarried young female in an all male organisation office would possibly make other male employees uncomfortable. Analysis of this conversation would reveal further complications that women face in earning a living, which do not get resolved by education alone. This yet again point at the reasons why they resort to craft making in a women's organisation to earn an income.

Travelling is yet another area of religious discourse which does not allow a woman to travel abroad without the company of a *mahram*. This means that women who need to travel far from their homes to earn a living have to think about breaking a code of religious practice stand the risk of being socially criticised. In areas of conflict where there are limited areas of employment due to a sagging economy such restrictions make it harder for women to cope with their need to earn. Women at ZDPM spoke about their ability to carry shawls and pieces of fabric home to embroider, which allowed them to work from home and only travel to return completed pieces, collect raw materials or wages for completed work. Working in this area did not necessitate daily travel which provided women freedom.

Critical examination of the role of religion here indicates that women who practice Islam face limitations and restrictions on their employability, societal acceptance and position in society. This is not aimed as a criticism as none of the women followed religion out of force. They understood limitations imposed on them and approached them with a sense of acceptance. However they showed an understanding of how this religious identity restricts what they can or cannot do to earn an income and therefore chose crafts as a path of least resistance in pursuit of income. Craft working does not present any threats to their religious identities and reflects on the importance crafts and therefore also the potential crafts have in rebuilding lives of these women.

⁹⁴ Name withheld on request of respondent.

6.2.8 Literacy Rates

Being pushed into a public space and to be wholly responsible for the well being of their family is a huge responsibility. This responsibility is hindered by the fact that their literacy and skills levels for gaining employment are low. The Statistical Handbook published by the Jammu Kashmiri Government states that out of a total of 740 government run institutions for general education (from primary school up to college) only 394 intake women. This number is dismally lower for privately run institutions, which are 556 in total of which only 60 intake women (Statistical Handbook, Govt J&K, 2006). This means that less than half of the female population has formal education. Other figures for education reveal a high level of female dropouts, and puts literacy levels for females at a figure of 47.97% for 2001⁹⁵. Education and its role within development, especially with a gender perspective is a separate body of research which does not fall within the remit of this research. However these figures are merely indicative of the struggle that the women face in gaining employment and the limitation lack of education places on their ability to do so successfully. At ZDPM approximately half the women had basic knowledge of literacy and numeracy while others could only write their own names and sign. However these skills were very low due to lack of access to education. A few others could read efficiently only in Urdu. Yet others were able to slowly read English. Thus literacy levels varied, though a lack of education was evident in a majority of women.

6.3 Reasons for Popularity of Crafts for Women

Apart from the identity perspective, crafts have been selected by owmen for income generation for other reasons and these are discussed here. Included here is the traditional role women played in crafts before the conflict and how this prior knowledge works to their advantage. Comparisons have been made with women living in other parts of India and also across the world where relevant. Like their counterparts in Saharawi, Bosnia, Lebanon, Sulawesi and other places of conflict, the women of Kashmir, when faced by

⁹⁵ These figures were provided by the Chief Education Officer of J&K State and the Census department, Srinagar.

a pressure to earn, few marketable skills and very little work experience resorted to craft making to generate an income. The absence of male income support and labour and limitations imposed by societal and religious norms necessitated this move by the women into waged work and assumption of roles in what was a male dominated area (Date-Bah, 2003).

6.3.1 Working from Home.

For women across the world craft working is also something they can do at home simultaneously with looking after the household and the family. In light of the conflict women possibly have other families and older or sick people living with them, loss of male relations has meant that immediate and distant families seek support from other members; it also means that displaced people from the border areas often move into relatively safer locations in search of safety and sustenance by their related families. Working from home on crafts seems to be one of the more adaptable and convenient means of generating an income. Being home based, working in crafts negates the need to travel, independently or in company of known men/ women. It thereby reduces the effort for women in remote locations with little access to transport, or even also the money required for using public transport. Often in poorer areas women have little access to childcare, which prevents them from leaving the confines of their homes. Childcare is an essential prerequisite for working women according to Sally Holkar of Women's Weave⁹⁶, Maheshwar. Her NGO, Rehwa – Women's Weave, works with sari weavers of Maheshwar, this organisation has developed a crèche in their crafts workshops to allow women to avail of childcare facilities in order to be able to focus on work. Having children within vicinity while at work makes women feel more secure says Holkar.

Crafts provide safety from the harsh climate (6 months of winter) as well as from the conflict and violence outside the home, which is far from over. This reason is common for women and men.

⁹⁶ See Appendix 1

6.3.2 Prior knowledge as Observers and Consumers

For women crafts are a way of applying skills that they have observed for many years, as they have been observers and consumers. Women in Kashmir used to spin yarns for the shawls and men would weave this yarn. This role of women within textile crafts as spinners is something Kashmiri women have in common with their counterparts across the world, for example the women in the Otavaleño community in Ecuador are known to spin yarn for weaving and knitting as a means of income generation (Kyle, 1999). Women in Ladakh also spin Pashmina and other wool varieties for local consumption (Ahmed, 2004).

Prior knowledge of crafts is a huge benefit to the women of Kashmir. They have in the past received craft made textiles as wedding presents, as ancestral heirlooms passed from mother to daughter and also as matriarchs within their families who invested money in craft made goods. This reliance on prior knowledge has been noticed in Saharawi refugee camps by Thomas (1996) where women seek and maintain skill continuity by working within the handmade textiles area. It has also been seen in the conflict beset area of North Caucasus where Chechen and Ingush women deal in textiles to generate incomes (Layton, 2004). In India itself many women depend on crafts for supplying incomes to them in places like Gujarat⁹⁷ as well as other parts of India. Thus exploiting crafts as a source of income for women is not unique to Kashmir.

6.3.3 Lack of other Alternative Areas of Employment

Having low literacy skills, dependence on public transport for travel, restrictions on how far they can travel and how affects the way these women can be employed. Women interviewed in Kashmir spoke about a lack of confidence about working. They spoke of anxiety at the idea of travelling alone as well as working, though having no income caused stress, the search for jobs caused even more stress according to them. This works

⁹⁷ Organisations in Gujarat like Shrujan (www.shrujan.org), SEWA (www.SEWA.org), Kalaraksha (<http://www.kala-raksha.org/index.htm>) have been known to promote crafts as a source of income for women for many years. They have developed sophisticated systems of training, design, and marketing and have empowered many crafts women allowing them to explore their traditional craft in a gainful way.

at lowering their confidence further. The lack of industry in Kashmir has been mentioned in the previous chapter means that there are even fewer jobs to go around. As mentioned before their identity as Muslim women hinders their access to traditional areas of employment. They are unable to find jobs in the formal sector because they compete for these jobs with possibly more qualified men and also because their traditional roles within the homes are perceived as more important by most employers. In hiring women for main stream jobs organisations would be setting precedents of supporting women working in male or mixed sex environments, which in a conflict area of fragile peace might not be in the interest of the organisation. Crafts therefore appear to be a possible option for employment.

6.3.4 Generic reasons

These are reasons similar to those offered by men about the reasons why crafts are popular. The reason why the crafts industry is a popular area for seeking employment are the ready availability of raw material, the local beauty that inspires the crafts people to create, the severe winters which prohibit working outdoors, the traditional use of craft made goods on a daily basis, the long standing tradition and history of crafts manufacturing. The crafts sector shows presence of expertise of skills, systems of trading and marketing, supply chains for raw material, presence of local businesses which continue to trade; for women this pre-existing structure allows them to enter the sector without prior investment of any kind. The fluidity of employment in this sector is yet another reason why women chose to work in crafts. As freelance makers, they can earn a wage without being formally employed by a particular business.

6.4 Challenges for Women in Crafts

This section derives information from the fieldwork (2003-2006) and has been analysed thematically to enable understanding of the challenges crafts women in Kashmir face. These themes are derived from filtering data from observations into broad groups, some of which are common to the previous themes seen in chapter one, whilst others were

developed, as they were uniquely applicable to the craftswomen alone. These themes allow for analysis of the status of craftswomen and provide the platform from which to develop plans for further work, which are discussed in chapter seven. This thematic analysis also highlights each area as a separate sector, which can be individually targeted for further research. It enables a holistic understanding of craftswomen in Kashmir through exploration of each individual area/aspect of their working lives and the challenges they face therein. These challenges provide a realistic understanding of women craft workers in Kashmir as it allows them to be situated within the local contexts of society and economy in which they work. This section includes the negative aspects of working in crafts which women need to contend with. This section comprises of observations and throws light on the understanding of women crafts workers. Some of the challenges discussed here also provide the basis for the recommendations for further work in Kashmir that are presented in the last chapter.

6.4.1 Societal Challenges

Women and men have formal relationships. While men feel at ease talking to women, a working relationship outside the house was observed to be very strained on both sides in most cases. The Kashmiri society, as mentioned before, was male dominated and the women were not known to be income generators in the family. Thus the working women in Kashmir are perceived in a different light. Often they are pitied for their need to work and this attitude causes a lot of shame and resentment among the women. This also leads to feelings of desperation and frustration. As discussed earlier religion plays a significant role here. There seems to be an increasing desperation to earn money, yet low skills, lack of education, psychological problems make the women of Kashmir an extremely vulnerable group. Thus women were seen to have to contend with conflicting needs and interests, while income was important, working, possibly with strangers, poses challenges and creates criticism of their morality and piety within the society in which they live. Here working women are seen not as contributors to the economy but as women who lack personal financial support and resources, therefore an element of sympathy can be evidenced in the perception of working women within Kashmiri society. The needs of women have changed yet acknowledgement and acceptance of

them as a productive segment in society has not occurred yet. This can be seen as a challenge in some ways.

6.4.2 Political Challenges

Yesufu (2000) mentions that no lasting peace can be found without development, yet development cannot be sustainable without inclusion and equality of women. Chabra (2006) mentions that women play an active and positive role in conflict resolution and peace cannot be formulated without the involvement of women. This indicates the importance of women from a political perspective. However Kashmiri women lack voice, power or authority in society. This lack of voice and exclusion means that Kashmiri women are often overlooked when peace processes or dialogue for conflict mitigation is being planned. Women are considered passive receivers of aid, charity and assistance and rarely considered proactive actors (Gasser et al. 2004). Political role of women is often overlooked and peace negotiations rarely include women's voices. Women in Kashmir lack representation in their local authorities and face marginalisation and exclusion from the workings of the state. Women craft workers however show potential as stakeholders in the Kashmir's economic and political future. They also show the desire for peace. Working in crafts does begin to empower them in some ways and paves the way for their greater involvement within Kashmir's future.

6.4.3 Economic Challenges

The complex male dominated bureaucracy, strict job-demarcations often make simple requests for assistance and support for craft working into long winded procedures with complex processes which can often be demoralising and challenging especially for women with their limited literacy skills. The bureaucracy in Kashmir is mostly male and most have a condescending attitude towards women, which verges on being patronising and sometimes also pitiful. At most times it is easy to be intimidated by male bureaucrats. Potentially useful and relevant information about funding, support, aid etc is often unreliable and secrecy of procedures also means that data that should be made

public is often kept under wraps, preventing women from accessing information that could be beneficial to them.

This means that the most vulnerable, i.e. the women often are not able to access resources that have been allocated for them. Muslim women face additional discrimination on the basis of their religion. One bureaucrat in New Delhi who wished to remain anonymous insinuated that a Kashmiri woman, seeking application forms for a loan, had come to his office probably because her militant husband could not find a job. This is the burden that the women of Kashmir carry due to their identity not only as Kashmiri women but more so due to their being Muslim. Such discrimination hinders development of women's potential and poses challenges for them.

As mentioned in the previous chapter credit and finance facilities through micro finance institutions and even local banks is a problem area within conflict zones. This gets compounded for women when in most cases of loan application, a male co-applicant needs to sign with them. This is not an unknown system in India and is totally against the empowerment efforts made by financial institutions, in many cases staff delivering financial services often have no skills to handle participatory methods and tools for identifying gender issues at the community level (Singh, 2003). This amounts to gender based discrimination, however it continues to exist within various levels of the government and financial institutions.

6.4.4 Challenges of finding International Support.

Applications for assistance and support to international agencies by women often need support from the Indian bureaucracy in terms of forms and letters of support. The process of application for funding and assistance from international donors is complicated and the time lines between bidding for funding and the funds being transferred to the beneficiary are long. Donor agencies are known to ask for well-stated proposals, proof of accurate assessments, implementation procedures and evaluation programs (Layton, 2004). This often puts pressure on the local groups, as language

might be a barrier. It also means a complicated process for applying for assistance, for women who only have very basic English literacy skills.

Most donor agencies are based in New Delhi which is far from Kashmir making travel time consuming and expensive, thus women's organisations from Kashmir have limited access to international support / aid agencies. These complications for applications translate into limiting women's access to aid and resources, thus providing them with little relief from local/ national or international support. Working in crafts for women seems like a viable option, yet sustaining training and development of activities without financial aid or support could pose a challenge in the long term.

6.4.5 Competition from Kashmiri Craftsmen.

This is perhaps the one of the biggest challenges for women entering the world of crafts production. The skills of women in craft making are far lower than those of men. Through training, apprenticeship and involvement within crafts from a young age crafts men have spent more time in developing skills than women. This creates a wide chasm between the skill set of both groups. The reasons for entering the crafts by women mentioned earlier seem to be valid. However the competition they face from men is steep, this competition would be in receiving orders, making high quality, well designed, reasonably priced products, within small time frames, and selling them successfully. Men do not face limitations to their development on account of their identities, as opposed to women. Women in ZDPM suggested they could use their skills to develop other products which do not require a high skill set and would not be in direct competition to what the men produce. However this could be seen as optimism as most products made by women in ZDPM are also made by men, of a better quality, better price and faster speed. This poses a problem for women and needs further consideration.

Within this research this can be seen as a negative aspect of women working in the crafts sector. It poses a challenge and an obstacle for the progress of Kashmiri crafts women. This challenge is real and the only solution, which could be suggested here,

would be provision of training. If skills and experience could be shared between men and women in any possible way, it could allow for transference of skills, allowing women to grow in this area. This might not be feasible for many reasons, least of which is the religious limitation of women interacting with men who are strangers to them and working in close proximity of them. This could potentially be resolved through working in large groups and avoiding one-to-one interaction. However men might be reluctant in providing training to women, who would only add to the competition they already face from other crafts men in procuring orders for work.

Yet again this could be viewed potentially as an encouraging element within crafts, where competition often promotes the development and realisation of the full potential of the competitors. By facing competition, women and men might together develop higher skills sets that could work in favour of the crafts. They might also develop pathways and versions of craft made products, which do justice to their skills sets and allow them to mutually co-exist in a profitable environment. This challenge is mentioned here as a problem to which this research has not found a solution, however as an observation it is important to note, though it produces deviance within the discourse about crafts being an answer to women's need for income generation.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter has looked at the impact of conflict on the women in Kashmir and has found them to resort to craft making to generate incomes. In light of the research question, this indicates a shift in the patterns of crafts making in Kashmir, which pre-conflict were a male dominated area. Women have chosen to work in this sector due to their subjective preferences, which stem to some extent from their religious and cultural identities. Their involvement in crafts positions them within the labour force of Kashmir, which is a direct impact of the conflict. The sector of crafts in post conflict Kashmir has therefore changed as it now includes women. This is significant as it highlights crafts to be a preferred medium of income generation in post conflict Kashmir, highlighting its importance and its potential role in the economic

reconstruction of Kashmir. In choosing craftwork as an employment sector women have indicated it to be an area of priority for rebuilding their lives.

Critical analysis of this work reveals that men and women in Kashmir are increasingly involved within crafts to generate income and employment to sustain them. The nature of crafts which allows them to provide safety and security of work, and draws on past systems of making and expertise of traditional skills allows people in Kashmir to rely on them for provision of their economic needs. Women and men have been seen to work here for varied reasons. For post conflict Kashmir crafts therefore becomes an important focal area. The research sought knowledge about changes to the craft sector in post conflict Kashmir and this has thus far been examined. While there seem to be overlaps in the reasons why men and women chose to work in crafts, there is presence of subjective variations for making this decision. This leads to re-examination of the proposition mentioned in the previous chapters.

The research proposed presence of causal links between unemployment, poverty and conflict. It also indicated the presence of links between culture and development. In participating in crafts, Kashmiri people chose to work in a sector, which is culturally relevant to them and in many ways contributes to defining their identities. Thereby working in crafts, can be seen as an economically relevant activity that people in Kashmir chose to participate in, in order generate incomes, this contributes in turn to the rebuilding of their economy. It can thereby be surmised here that craft working in post conflict Kashmir shows potential of being a sector, which can contribute towards rebuilding Kashmir. In conclusion it could be said that crafts in Kashmir have changed due to the conflict in the region. They now include women crafts workers and have a larger workforce involved in making and selling crafts. Crafts are also an area of economic priority and could therefore be seen as contributing to the future reconstruction of Kashmir.



Figure 6.2 Embroidering a Numdah (Fieldwork August 2006)



**Figure 6.3 Embroidery on a Numdah
(Fieldwork August 2006)**



Figure 6.4 Embroidery on a piece of Fabric (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.5 Embroidery using chain stitch (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.6 Women working at ZDPM (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.7 Winding a hank of yarn (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.8 Embroidered jackets from ZDPM (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.9 Embroidered cushion cover from ZDPM (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.10 Embroidered hand bag from ZDPM (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.11 Close-up of ZDPM embroidery (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.12 Close-up of ZDPM embroidery (Fieldwork August 2006)



Figure 6.13 Working on Designs for ZDPM (Fieldwork August 2006)

Figure 6.14 Female Literacy Rate in India

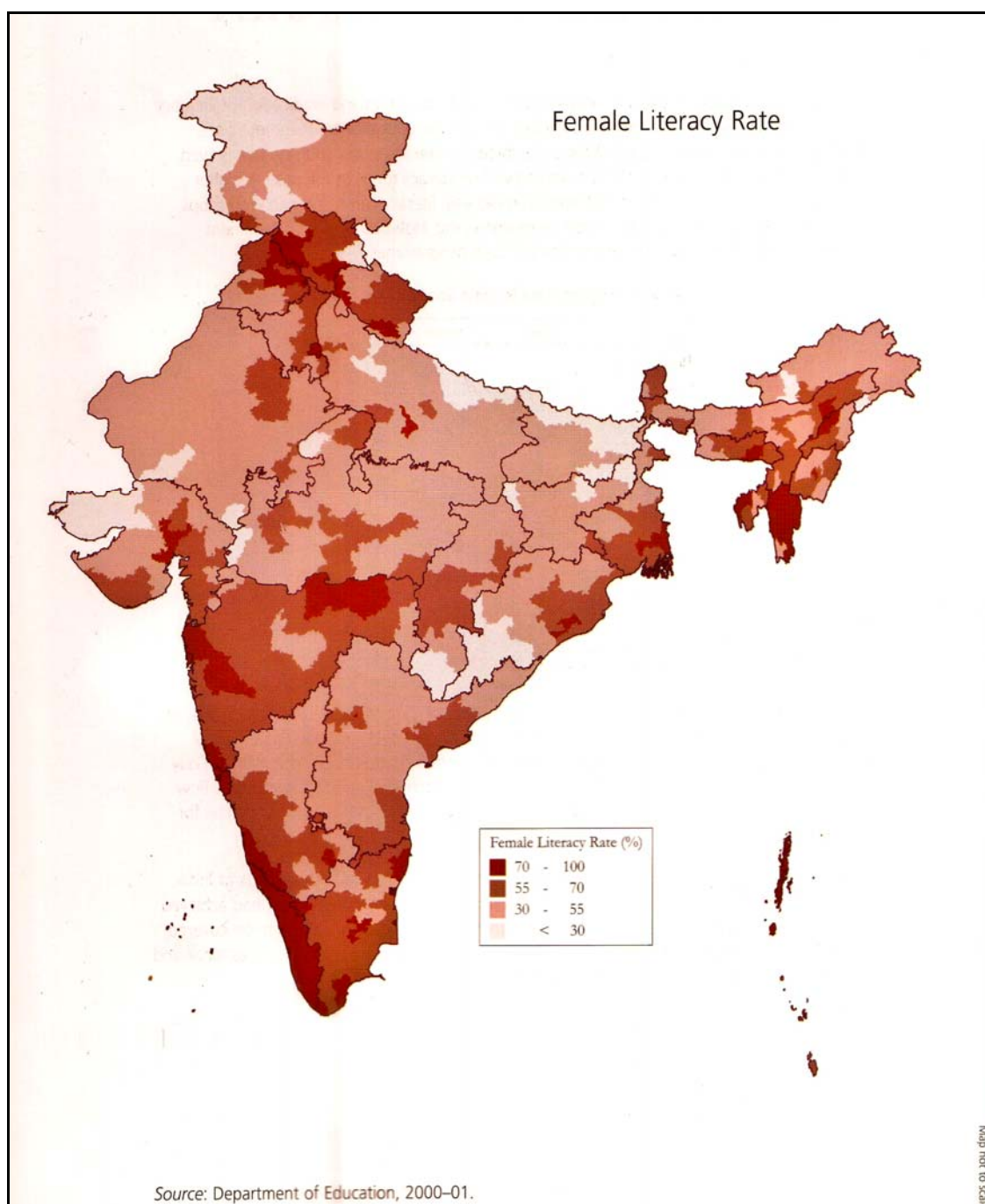
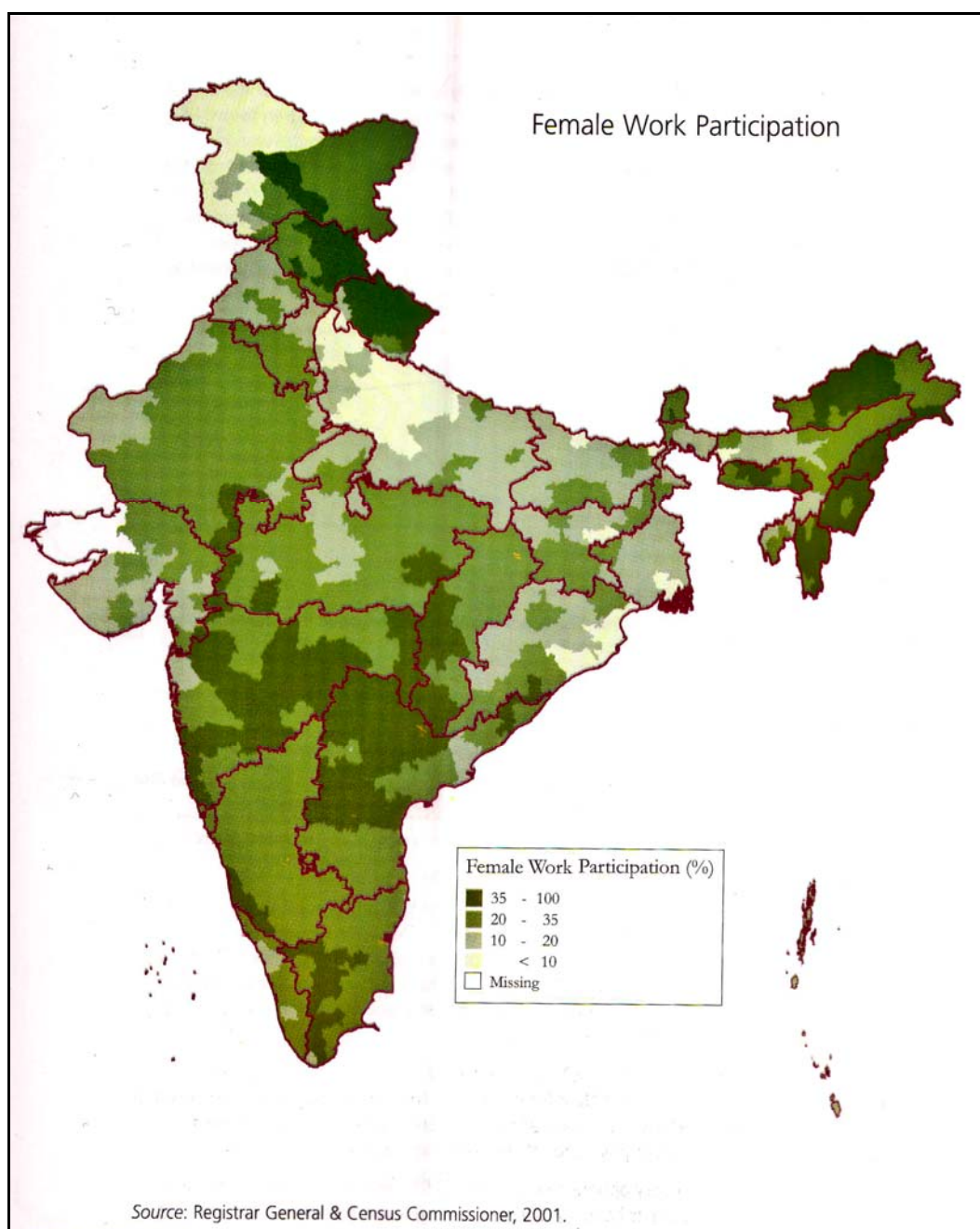


Figure 6.15 Female work participation in India



Chapter 7 – Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter reflects on the previous chapters and explores how the research questions raised in the introduction have been answered. It critically summarises the limitations of the research in order to understand the applicability of this work in the future. The second section of this chapter looks at the conclusions that could be drawn from this study. The last section looks at the use of this work in the future by listing recommendations for further work that emerged from this work and focussing specifically at one the issue of training which could be of wider use.

7.1 Summary

Initial chapters have looked at the choices and justifications used to develop research and analysis. The choice of qualitative approach here was best suited to carry out this research as it allowed flexibility in gathering data which was useful bearing in mind the situational constraints of working in Kashmir. The need to be an observer and also a participant from time to time, justified the use of an almost ethnographical approach to this study, which allowed me to understand subjectively my surroundings while at the same time earn trust of the people I wanted to study. This approach proved to be useful as it allowed me to observe crafts people – both male and female at length. I was able to understand and describe craft people's personal experiences of the phenomenon of conflict and its impact on them, which allowed me to address the research question about the status of the Kashmiri textile crafts and the impact of conflict on them.

However critical analysis of using a quantitative approach pointed out its limitations. The knowledge produced through this research is possibly too specific for direct application to situations outside of Kashmir. This was a known outcome of the choice of methodology and includes the use of case study in chapter six. This approach allowed me to examine Kashmiri crafts and craftspeople closely and analyse their personal experiences, however application of this research outside Kashmir would need modifications in approach to allow for generalisations to be developed. The case study however looks at Muslim women and their use of crafts to generate income owing to

their knowledge of crafts and the limitations imposed by their gender and religious identity. Similar patterns could be sought in other places of conflict which have a high Muslim female population; here this research could potentially have applicability, albeit limited.

To understand the current status of Kashmiri crafts chapters two and four covered historical ground in understanding crafts and their living traditions in the valley. An assessment of what craft means to Kashmir with a focus on hand woven shawls was conducted here. This section of the thesis allowed for historical underpinnings of this work. These chapters however did not cover the journey and changes to the shawl and its understandings outside Kashmir within the western world, which is an aspect on reflection I would have liked to explore. These chapters throw light on the past of the crafts, with an indication of the present through a look at craft trade statistics. These chapters allowed for reflection on the role my identity played in this research and briefly looked at the real threat to life faced when conducting this work. This threat acted as a challenge and a motivating factor allowing me to empathise with the respondents who had lived with such threats for the past two decades.

This threat was built upon through chapter three which looked intensively at the conflict in Kashmir. This chapter examined the history and origins of the conflict and then looked at its changing nature. The study of conflict theory in this chapter allowed building an understanding of the reasons behind the intractability of the conflict in Kashmir. This understanding allowed the assessment of social impact of the conflict. The pathways to peace, which have been recommended towards the end of this chapter, reflect on the minimal scope that lasting peace has of returning to Kashmir in the near future. This chapter also looks at communal divisions in Kashmiri society and the long-term impacts of the same. This chapter does not delve into the issues of internal displacement of people, status of refugees and the problems faced by Kashmiri Pandits who left Kashmir, which were aspects that emerged from research. These are important dimensions and fallouts of the conflict thereby warrant examination; however these people are not players within the field of crafts and therefore were not focussed on within this study. Yet another dimension of this chapter that is interesting is the body of

work which exists about the profitability of war and conflict and how this shapes the fates of many ongoing conflicts around the world. Since this work is not political in its nature, pursuing this would not fit within the realm of this work and thereby its exploration has been limited within this work.

Chapter five looked at post conflict crafts in Kashmir and built theoretical links between conflict, unemployment and poverty. It analysed the economic impact of the conflict and then examined the causal links that could be made between conflict, unemployment and poverty to understand this impact further. This also led to the exploration of links between culture and economic development. In this chapter the proposition has been made and explained. Craft working as an area of cultural importance and economic relevance could provide income to Kashmiri society; this in turn could lead to the creation of employment, which is known to alleviate poverty. Thus crafts here are proposed as a solution to Kashmir's unemployment problem. This proposition is based on the theoretical linkages discussed within this chapter. This chapter further answers the research question by looking at how crafts have changed in the post conflict scenario. It looks briefly at the challenges faced by Kashmir's economy due region undergoing conflict for nearly two decades.

Chapter six examined the role women play in crafts by undertaking a case study. This case study is presented and critically examined by putting it within context of pre-existing theories about conflict, gender, development, impact of conflict on women and the role of income generation in women's lives. This chapter required reflexivity on my part as it involved close interactions with women whose voices have never been heard in Kashmir or outside. They are the new recruits within the crafts industry, and this is seen as a direct impact of conflict on the crafts, leading to a shift in gender roles within economy and society. Crafts women in Kashmir see crafts as an important area of work due to varied reason. The identity of these women and the role it plays in their lives has been examined within this chapter. This chapter answers part of the research question which asks about the importance of crafts in a post conflict situation. It also reflects on the contribution crafts can make in the economic reconstruction of Kashmir.

The proposition mentioned in chapter five, was developed further in chapter six. Critical analysis revealed the craft has been chosen as a sector of employment not just by men, but also by women. This choice can be analysed in many different ways. Firstly in choosing to work in crafts, people show independence in selecting the area they think would be best suited for them to generate an income given their own personal limitations and the limitations to the economy posed by the conflict. Secondly this choice reveals crafts to be of vital importance to people as they look upon this sector for sustenance, thus it is not a small scale cottage industry or even a part time income earner, it is what people see it to be, an industry, which could provide employment and income. The choice of crafts also reveals the importance of this sector culturally and economically to the state of Kashmir, wherein its residents chose to work in this sector when faced with hardships. When this analysis is contextualised with the research proposition it reveals that crafts could contribute to Kashmir's economic reconstruction.

The proposition had indicated that unemployment in post conflict area is often the cause of poverty and is seen as a threat to peace, wherein post conflict regions stand the increased risk of violence due to the poverty and unemployment faced by the people who live there. It was also proposed that people often value activities that are of a cultural nature. The promotion of these could lead to economic development with a 'human' component, as the economy gears to producing revenue which comes from sectors of cultural value and relevance to people. Kashmiris chose to work in crafts, indicating that they value the cultural importance of crafts and the economic potential crafts have. Their choice to work here should thereby serve as an indicator of what they prioritize and hold to be valuable to them. This is important to note for policy makers of Kashmir as well as researchers in the area.

The politics of Kashmir changes quite rapidly, since this study began the government of Pakistan has changed. There is also a change in the government in America which has hinted on pressurising South Asian nations into developing a peaceful resolution of long standing conflicts. The changes in these governments are inextricably linked to Kashmir. The political future is uncertain however changes in international politics could raise hopes of a fresh attempt at resolutions to be made.

7.2 Conclusion

This research set out to understand the current status of Kashmiri textile crafts. It was found that crafts in Kashmir have been used as a source of income increasingly by a large part of the population. Their traditional popularity continues into the new century. The conflict in the state has made crafts into a more lucrative area of work for income generation due to many reasons. The conflict has had a negative impact in many ways as the crafts sector suffers from lack of investment, expertise, training and development, due to the focus of the State being on security and protection of its borders. The conflict has been positive in many ways too, it has caused migration of businesses to safer locations, allowing them to grow and often bring back employment for crafts people in the valley. The conflict has also caused new people to join crafts, adding to the employment statistics of crafts and promoting it as a popular area of choice for Kashmiris to work in. The conflict was seen to have benefited migrant Kashmiri Pandits in minor ways over the long term. It was also seen to impact women who now chose to work in crafts, this could in some ways be seen as a beneficial outcome as it increases the work force of productive workers in the region, and also promotes crafts development. This can be seen a positive outcome of the conflict even though it arises out of desperation and need for income.

In the post conflict situation women have been seen to join the crafts industry. This is due to their new roles as household heads and thereby the need to earn an income. The relative safety of working indoors, combined with the low literacy levels needed to work in this sector as well as latent knowledge they possess as buyers and users of crafts are some of the main reasons why crafts have been chosen by women as a sector for them to work in. Thus crafts in post conflict Kashmir are important to women who seek to rebuild their lives.

It can be concluded that crafts in Kashmir have become a more popular area of work for many people, including women over the past twenty years. This has been a direct outcome of the conflict in the state, pushing people to use their latent knowledge about crafts and creating further reliance on crafts as a source of income. Involvement of such

a large number of people reveals not only the importance of crafts as a source of income generation by people, but also their potential as a contributor to economic reconstruction of the state of Kashmir. It is this potential of craft – of having the ability to bring about social transformations which forms the recommendation for further work.

This work allowed me to develop insights into the working of the crafts people. The large volume of data generated through fieldwork (2003-2006) was analysed and presented in this thesis. However on reflection a closer focus on Kashmiri craftswomen only, could have enabled research to direct energies at drawing comparisons to crafts women in other parts of India. This approach would have made the study even more specific yet perhaps more broadly applicable.

7.3 Recommendations for Further Work

7.3.1. Design interventions through training.

It is thought that design interventions, through training, within crafts could lead to social transformations. In Kashmir working in crafts empowers men and women, generates income and revenue and allows people to be more in control of their own destinies and futures. By earning an income through craft work they can transform the society around them. People in Kashmir identified the need to train in design and marketing, to enable them to produce better designed crafts, which would sell better and therefore earn higher and more sustainable incomes for them. Income from dignified labour is a matter of importance to people in Kashmir.

The scope of such interventions can be assessed by looking at crafts traditions that are followed by most communities around the world in one way or another. They form part of the history and culture of a region and most local populations therefore value their crafts. Encouragement of work within this area through provision of training, which is tailored to suit the needs of specific communities, could allow them to build better lives for themselves. This is applicable mainly to the developing countries where crafts form part of the aesthetic and functional worlds of the people. Here crafts are living traditions and unlike in the western world, have not been transformed into pieces of art, exhibited

in important galleries and sold at high prices. In most developing countries crafts are still practiced by the poorer sections of society and thus interventions in form of training could be of benefit to the economically backward sections of the population.

Ballyn (2002) recommends that knowledge and awareness about the crafts as well as training in product design and marketing could alleviate some of the problems faced by crafts people. It could also be a solution for the highly dependent relationship between craftsmen and middlemen according to Ballyn (2002). Training of the craftspeople in skills of design and product development, so they themselves are aware of their own creativity and learn how to sell their products could prove to be beneficial for them. Training could enhance skills of the crafts people and enable them to come up to the standards of other crafts practices in term of design, innovation, and product development, pricing as well as selling strategies. All respondents identified training as a need during this research. Craftsmen identified needs for training with marketing, while women needed training for skills enhancement; businessmen identified the need for training in marketing and product development. Thus training could possibly provide support to this sector of work and possible also help develop solutions to the problems identified here and earlier.

7.3.2 Gender Focussed Craft Training.

The possibility of such interventions benefiting women craft workers across the world could also be explored. Economically and socially disadvantaged women could stand to benefit from such training, which could impart them with skills and knowledge in an area which requires low financial investment, low literacy skills, yet needs dedication and practice. Crafts allow women to work from home and thus provide them with work within the safety of their own homes. Development and provision of employment relevant training within crafts could lead to women generating sustainable incomes. It is widely known that development of women's income earning potential often contributes positively to the health, education and welfare of their families and also thereby the communities they live in (Wali et al., 2003). Such training could also be beneficial to women living in other conflict zones who have prior knowledge of crafts as either practitioners of crafts or like the Kashmiri women as consumers of crafts made goods.

Here training could be useful as it could yet again provide the ability to generate income, reduce unemployment and possibly break the cycle of conflict and poverty, which form traps that conflict zones are vulnerable to.

Training within crafts could allow for local economic development in areas, which are post crises, which could include natural disasters, conflict, violence or war. Economic regeneration is often the second step to humanitarian aid in post crises areas. Enabling populations to rebuild their lives through provision of training is a known approach to locale economic development used by the ILO (Gasser et al., 2004). It has been studied that income generation is a building block for development and leads to poverty alleviation. Working in a field, which is culturally relevant to the local people, is also known to lead to economic development (De Cuellar, 1996).

It is proposed here that programs that train people in areas of crafts design and development could enable them to enrich their lives and build sustainable futures. This training would also enable craft traditions to be kept alive within various communities and could create richness of culture and also appreciations of it. These design interventions through training show potential of social transformations and need exploration.

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Fig 2.1 Disputed territory of Kashmir, [Online Image] University of Texas Library
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[Accessed 02/01/09]

Fig 2.2 Map of Jammu and Kashmir (1912), Survey of India, Calcutta.

Fig 2.3 Physical Map of Srinagar (1912), Survey of India, Calcutta.

Fig 2.4 Distribution of Languages in India (Johnson, 1996, p.38)

Fig 2.5 Employment in Kashmir in the organised sector (Bajpai et al., 2005, p.117)

Fig 2.7 Kangri – A Willow basket containing clay pot, for carrying hot coals (1970)
[Online Image] Richard Lerner. Available from:

http://hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/exhibitions/lerner/gallery5_1.html [Accessed
01/01/09]

Fig 2.8 Kashmiri Copper Kettle (Samovar) (2006) [Online Image]

Available from: <http://www.falconartgroup.com/COPP0004CABIG.jpg> [Accessed
01/01/09]

Fig 2.9 Woman with Tea Samovar (1980) [Online Image]

Earl and Nazima Kowall

Available from:

[http://pro.corbis.com/images/EK001443.jpg?size=67&uid={1F0F654A-5CCB-4A5B-
B11B-39914162D598](http://pro.corbis.com/images/EK001443.jpg?size=67&uid={1F0F654A-5CCB-4A5B-B11B-39914162D598) [Accessed 01/01/09]

Fig 2.10 Woman in *Pheran* (1910) [Online Image]

Available from: <http://www.imagesofasia.com/html/india/kashmiri-beauty.html>
[Accessed 01/01/09]

Fig 2.11 Tumbaknari, a musical instrument (2006) [Online Image] Majid Pandit.

Available from:

[http://www.merineews.com/upload/imageGallery/bigImage/1164355873282_116435179
9523_Wedding1_o.jpg](http://www.merineews.com/upload/imageGallery/bigImage/1164355873282_1164351799523_Wedding1_o.jpg) [Accessed 01/01/09]

Fig 2.12 Karakul Cap (1993) [Online Image] Museum of London Catalogue

Available from:

[http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/English/Collections/OnlineResources/RWWC/obje
cts/record.htm?type=object&id=141754](http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/English/Collections/OnlineResources/RWWC/objects/record.htm?type=object&id=141754) [Accessed 01/01/09]

Fig 3.1 Pre-partition map of India (1909) Imperial Gazetteer of India, Edinburgh
Geographical Institute, Edinburgh

Fig 3.2 Jammu and Kashmir administrative divisions, (1949) United Nations
Publications,

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Fig 4.4 Painting, 19th Century Dogra Chief Wearing Shawl (Rehman and Jafri, 2006
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Fig 4.9 Pashmina Trading in Srinagar (Rehman and Jafri, 2006 p.105)

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Fig 4.11 Pashmina Warp, Weaving in progress, wooden slats for changing tension of yarn during weaving, checking for imperfections in weave, removing imperfections from weave, Shuttles (Rehman and Jafri 2006 p.245)

Fig 4.24 (Left to right from top) Removing imperfections from weave to prepare fabric for dyeing, dyeing and washing on the river side, rinsing dyes, colour charts, dyeing fabrics, wringing, roller press to finish, rotating roller beds, treating yarns (Rehman and Jafri 2006 p.246)

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Fig 4.34 Paisley Designs from Kashmir (Prakash, 1994 p.63)

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Fig 4.36 *Kaanhi* Jamavar Loom, Talim and Graph (Rehman and Jafri, 2006 p.228)

Fig 4.37 The *Talim* for the *Kaanhi* Weaving (Rehman and Jafri, 2006 p.228)

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Fig 6.14 Female Literacy Rates (Bajpai et al. 2005, p.69)

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Appendix 1 - Respondents for Fieldwork, Subject Areas of Interviews and Sample Questions

NON GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS THAT DEAL WITH HANDICRAFTS

Name	Type	Reasons for selection	Method	Subject Area
Development Alternatives Information Network (DAINET)	Directory of NGOs in India	Allowed me to find NGOs working in the crafts sector in Kashmir	Online resource	Database of all NGOs working in various sectors in India
Kala Raksha, Gujarat	NGO for crafts women	Expertise in developing crafts as sources of income, improved lifestyles, created empowerment and promoted development of crafts people	Profile study through published materials on website	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Micro Finance - Training and Development
Dastakar, Delhi	NGO for crafts	Expertise in designing and marketing of crafts	Semi Structured interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Knowledge about Kashmiri crafts - Training and Development - Reasons for lack of involvement in Kashmir
Zanana Dastakari Production Markaaz, Srinagar	NGO for crafts women	Sole NGO in Kashmir which focuses on crafts development and works with women	Case Study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women in Kashmir - Crafts and their importance - Identity of women - Limitations or restrictions to working in crafts

GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS THAT DEAL WITH HANDICRAFTS (National)

Name	Type	Reasons for selection	Method	Subject Area
The Khadi and Village Industries (<i>Gram Udyog</i>) New Delhi	Central Government body that deals with hand made textiles	To establish contacts within KVI in Kashmir	Personal Interview – Various Bureaucrats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Workings of Khadi in Kashmir - Crafts people's base they use - Selection criterion for this - Relationship with State Khadi Board
Central Cottage Industries Corporation (CCIC), New Delhi	PSU under Central Government	Acts as a leader, exporter, manufacturer and agent of Indian quality handicrafts and handlooms. Develops markets for these products in India and abroad	Personal Interview – Various Bureaucrats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Selection of Kashmiri crafts sold and displayed - Database of Kashmiri craftspeople who make products for CCIC - Policies of payment used for goods kept/sold at CCIC - Knowledge about current status of Kashmiri crafts
Council for Advancement of People's Actions and Rural Technology. (CAPART) New Delhi	Agency that coordinates the partnerships between voluntary organisations and the Government	CAPART works in the field of crafts. Have knowledge about previous research and case studies done in various states	Personal Interviews with various project leaders who worked in crafts. + Archival research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kashmir crafts research or case studies
Office of the Development Commissioner Handicrafts, (DCH) New Delhi	Central nodal office that works towards promotion of all handicrafts made in India, part of Ministry of Textiles	Primary source of updated information about Kashmiri crafts and the main agency responsible for Kashmiri crafts promotion and development	Personal Interview – Tinoo Joshi (Commissioner of DCH) + Archival research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Funds work within the field of crafts development and includes sustainable development of crafts as a part of its objective - Current knowledge about Kashmiri crafts post conflict - Information about crafts people's groups who could be possible respondents

GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS THAT DEAL WITH HANDICRAFTS (State Level)

Name	Type	Reasons for selection	Method	Subject Area
Office of the Development Commissioner of Jammu and Kashmir, New Delhi	Commissioner represents Kashmir in New Delhi	First point of contact for any agencies who want to work in Jammu and Kashmir. Has current information about Kashmir	Personal Interview – A.K.Ghanai – (Commissioner)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bureaucratic stand on the conflict in Kashmir - Opinion about the impact of conflict on crafts - Establishment of contacts with Kashmiri crafts people in Kashmir and New Delhi
Office of the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu	Governor of Jammu and Kashmir	Provision of information about conflict, crafts and women in Kashmir.	Personal Interview – G.C. Saxena – (Governor of Jammu and Kashmir)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bureaucratic stand on the conflict in Kashmir - Opinion about the impact of conflict on crafts - Opinion about impact of conflict on communal relations in Kashmir - Opinion on the weaknesses of Kashmiri crafts - Establishment of contacts with Kashmiri crafts people in Kashmir and New Delhi
Khadi Village Industry Board, (KVIB) Srinagar	State Level Khadi office	Close contact with crafts people who produce goods for KVIB Keen to talk and made contact with me during fieldwork.	Personal Interviews – Various Bureaucrats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perception of impact of conflict on crafts - Current status of crafts people in Kashmir - Status of KVIB stores and sales of crafts from therein - Establishment of a need for training in crafts - Establishment of contacts with Kashmiri craftspeople in Srinagar
Handicrafts Development Council, Srinagar	State Level Handicrafts Office	Central point for information about crafts people, statistics of crafts manufacture and current status of crafts in Kashmir	Personal Interviews – Various Bureaucrats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perception of impact of conflict on crafts - Current status of crafts people in Kashmir - Status of HDC and role it plays in Kashmir

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of a need for training in crafts - Establishment of contacts with Kashmiri craftspeople in Srinagar
The Office of the Finance Minister of Kashmir, Jammu	State Level Finance Office at the Secretariat in Jammu	Information about Kashmir's post conflict economy, approach of govt. to crafts development.	Personal Interview – M.H.Beg (Finance Minister)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Status of Kashmir's post conflict economy - Importance / relevance of crafts in post conflict Kashmir - Statistics on economy

INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS WHO WORK IN CRAFTS

Name	Type	Reasons for selection	Method	Subject Area
Laila Tyabji	Chairperson - Dastakar	Well known author of books on Indian handicraft. Award winner for her work in crafts development	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opinion about Kashmiri crafts - Reasons for lack of involvement in Kashmir - Advice about working in Kashmir - Knowledge about craft NGOs in Kashmir - Opinion about the potential of crafts as sources of sustainable income - Opinion about the role crafts play in lives of women who make them
Jasleen Dhamija	Researcher of Crafts	Well known author of textile crafts of India.	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Status of crafts in India - Importance of crafts to the makers - The changes to crafts – making and perception over the past five decades - Knowledge about Kashmiri crafts
Sally Holkar	Founder of Women's Weave (NGO) crafts	Well known for her work in the promotion of crafts working	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Knowledge about Kashmiri crafts due to personal travels and current work in crafts - Well developed model for crafts

	women who work in sari weaving	undertaken by women in Maheshwar.		development used by Women's weave - Opinion about the role of crafts in women's lives - Potential of crafts development in Kashmir
Mir Basheer	President of the Carpet Manufacturers Association of Kashmir	Present at resident commissioner Ghanai's office and requested interview with me.	Personal Interview	- Problems faced by Kashmiri crafts in post conflict Kashmir - Issues of design and marketing within which training is needed by crafts people - Lack of governmental support to crafts in post conflict Kashmir - Women working in crafts in Kashmir were indicated by him
Women In Security Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), New Delhi	South Asian research and training initiative	Known to be currently working on political issues about Kashmir. Have organized conferences and published current research done in Kashmir	Personal Interviews – M. Shekhawat and A. Kaul-Bhatia + Attended Kashmiri Roundtable Seminar	- Current political situation in Kashmir - Migration of Kashmiris - Status of women in Kashmir - Impact of conflict on Kashmir's society and economy - Status of crafts in Kashmir
Naqash Family	Owners of Lucky Shawl Factory, Srinagar	Known to me personally. Had contact with group of crafts men who worked for Lucky Shawl. Also contacts within the crafts business community	Personal Interviews – M.M Naqash M Naqash S. Naqash	- Impact of conflict on crafts - Problems currently faced by crafts - Status of craft workers in Kashmir - Structure of the Kashmiri crafts industry - Support or lack of from the Government bodies to crafts - Economic contribution of crafts to Kashmir

V.K.Dhar	Principal of Delhi Public School, Srinagar	Kashmiri Pandit who did not migrate, has been a keen observer of changes in Kashmir over past two decades	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations of Kashmir and changes caused by impact of conflict - Conflict, politics and communal divisions in society - Pathways to peace
Random Selection Respondent Group 1	Non Kashmiri Male and Female Respondents	Peripheral view on Kashmir	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opinions about Kashmir's politics - Nationalism and importance of Kashmir - Understanding of impact of conflict on Kashmir - Importance of Kashmir to India
Random Selection Respondent Group 2	Kashmiri male and female respondents who were not crafts people.	Peripheral view on Kashmir.	Personal Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opinions about Kashmir's politics - Nationalism and importance of Kashmir - Understanding of impact of conflict on Kashmir - Importance of Kashmir to India
Dorothy Smith	Owner – Tashi, London. Retail store that sells Kashmiri Handicrafts	Peripheral view on Kashmiri crafts and the problems there in	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opinions about potential of Kashmiri crafts - Key problem areas within Kashmiri crafts - Crafts markets in UK
M. Shabbir	Kashmiri craft retailer in London. Trades in Shawls at Camden Lock Market	Kashmiri crafts businessman. Sources products in Kashmir and trades in London	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perceptions of crafts in UK - Kashmiri crafts and their popularity in UK - Problems with Kashmiri crafts - Impact of conflict on trade in crafts
R.K.Dar	IAS Officer (retd) from the UP cadre	Experience of working in administering and developing mountain regions of UP	Personal Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impact of mountains on development - Reasons for development approaches to be modified to suit specific needs of people who live in such regions

A. Kaul	Kashmiri Hindu Priest	Knowledge of hindu scriptures, texts and religious distinctions	Personal Interview	- Lack of caste system in Kashmiri Hindus
Mirwaiz Omar Farooq	Head of the Mosque in Kashmir	Knowledge of Islam, information about Kashmiri traditions	Personal Interview	- Lack of a caste system in Kashmiri Muslims - Commonality of Hindu and Muslim surnames
Mhd. Haneef	Businessman	Information about <i>Kaanhi</i> shawls	Personal Interviews	- Process and investment in <i>Kaanhi</i> - Time periods for making - Channels of marketing, problems with trade and product development
Mansoor Zaffar	Businessman	Information about weaving of <i>Kaanhi</i> and Pashmina	Personal Interviews	- Process and investment in <i>Kaanhi</i> - Channels of marketing, problems with trade and product development

CRAFTSPEOPLE IN KASHMIR

Name	Type	Reasons for selection	Method	Subject Area
Lucky Shawl Factory, Srinagar	Crafts men's group	Group of male craft workers who work within a semi organised setup of Lucky Shawl factory	Observations, and unstructured Interviews	- Crafts and their importance - Impact of conflict on crafts - Problems faced in craft working - Reasons for working in the craft sector - Security of income and employment
Crafts people's workshop, Zakora	Crafts men's group	Freelance and independent craft workers who are not permanent employees of any one organisation	Observations, and unstructured Interviews	- Crafts and their importance - Impact of conflict on crafts - Problems faced in craft working - Reasons for working in the craft sector - Security of income and employment

Crafts people's workshop, Kanihama, Srinagar	Crafts men's group	Work on <i>Kaanhi</i> shawl, a traditional labour intensive shawl	Observations, and unstructured Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of keeping <i>Kaanhi</i> tradition alive - Crafts and their importance - Impact of conflict on crafts - Problems faced in craft working - Reasons for working in the craft sector - Security of income and employment
Crafts people's workshop, Hawal, Zoonimer, Batmalu	Crafts men's groups	Work in shawl making in its various stages.	Observations, unstructured interviews, participation in executing embroidery on waste pieces of fabric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Crafts and their importance - Impact of conflict on crafts - Problems faced in craft working - Reasons for working in the craft sector - Security of income and employment
Mader Meherban, Misqeen Bagh, Srinagar	Women and Child welfare Charity	Work in craft making to a limited extent. Women are provided with shelter and housing and also basic skills to encourage them to gain employment	Unstructured interviews and observations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Priority of organisational working - Approach to women development - Understanding of crafts - Importance of crafts - Impact of conflict on women in Kashmir

Sample Questions:

Non Government Organisations that deal with Handicrafts

- Which Non Government Organisations work in Kashmir within the sector of crafts? Could these be contacted for this research?
- What is known about the current craft production in Kashmir?
- What are the main areas of assistance that Kashmiri crafts require?
- How has working in crafts transformed lives of craftspeople in other parts of India?
- What role has craft played in economic development of communities that engage with this activity for income generation?
- Are there models for craft training and development, which have been used successfully in other regions that could be used in Kashmir?

Government Organisations that deal with Handicrafts – National

- What is the current knowledge about the status of Kashmiri crafts in a post conflict scenario?
- How has the conflict impacted the crafts sector in Kashmir?
- What schemes of funding/ training support exist for Kashmiri crafts?
- Is there a database of Kashmiri crafts people currently working in the region?
- What policy of payment does the government have regarding procurement and sale of craft products at government owned retail stores?
- What potential does the Kashmiri crafts sector have for growth?
- Are there groups of crafts people who could be potential respondents for this research?

Government Organisations that deal with Handicrafts – State

- What has been the impact of the conflict on Kashmiri crafts?
- How has the conflict impacted community relationships?
- What are the potential areas for assistance for further development of crafts of the region?
- What is the importance of crafts to Kashmir in the post conflict scenario?
- Are there statistics available about the crafts sector which could be accessed for this research?
- What is the contribution of craft to the economy of Kashmir?
- What is the importance of tourism to the crafts industry in Kashmir?

Individuals and Groups who work in crafts

- Why is there a lack of involvement of NGOs and individuals in Kashmir?
- How do Kashmiri crafts compare against crafts from other regions of India?
- What role do crafts play in women's lives?
- What are the major changes within the craft sector in terms of making and perception of crafts?
- Are there models for craft training and development, which have been used successfully in other regions which could be used in Kashmir?
- What are the problems/ challenges faced by Kashmiri crafts in the post conflict scenario?
- What has been the impact of the conflict on Kashmiri economy and society?
- What is the structure of the Kashmiri craft industry and how has it changed during the years of conflict?
- What role does craft play in defining Kashmiri identity?
- What support mechanisms exist on the governmental/ non-governmental level to promote craft development?
- How has Kashmir's political problem changed in the past two decades? And what is the political future of Kashmir?
- How does Kashmir's geography impact its society and politics?

Craftspeople in Kashmir

- What is the importance of crafts to the maker?
- How has the conflict impacted the crafts sector?
- What are the problems faced by crafts people?
- Why do people choose to work in crafts?
- Is there security of income and employment in the crafts sector?
- How important is tradition in craft making?
- What assistance or support would be useful to crafts people?
- How important is craft to the Kashmiri identity?

Appendix 2 – Timeline of the Conflict⁹⁸

Year	The Event
1948	First India-Pakistan war started after armed tribesmen from Pakistan's North West Frontier Province invade Kashmir in October.
1949	In January UN arranges ceasefire, with recommendations to India and Pakistan to adhere to their commitment to hold a referendum in Kashmir. Referendum was not held.
1954	Jammu and Kashmir accession to India is ratified by the State's constitution assembly. Kashmir officially joins the Indian nation as a member state.
1957	Kashmir approves its own constitution modelled along with the Indian constitution.
1962	Sino Indian War, India and China conflict on the Eastern Border of Kashmir, India loses war. Large amounts of land in North East Kashmir taken over by the People's Liberation Army of China.
1962-63	After the war with China, India and Pakistan hold talks with support of the UK, USA to resolve differences over Kashmir. Talks unsuccessful.
1965	In April, India and Pakistan clash on the border of Rann of Kutch. India withdraws, Pakistan claims victory. In August Pakistan launches a covert offensive across the ceasefire line in Indian Administered Jammu and Kashmir. Early September India retaliates by crossing the border at Lahore.
1966	India and Pakistan governments meet at Tashkent and sign declaration affirming their commitment to resolve their disputes through peaceful means. Also agree to withdraw to their pre-August positions.
1971	Civil war erupts in Pakistan. East Pakistan demands independence from West Pakistan. Estimated 10 million refugees from East Pakistan flee to India. In December India invades East Pakistan to support them in their demand for freedom. Pakistani army surrenders at Dhaka with 90,000 becoming Indian prisoners of war. 6 December 1971 East Pakistan becomes independent nation of Bangladesh.
1972	India and Pakistan sign the Shimla accord to workout long standing issues bilaterally and through mechanism of working groups. Agree on a ceasefire line in Kashmir, renamed the Line of Control.
1974	Pakistan recognizes Bangladesh as an independent nation.
1974	Kashmir government reaches accord with Indian Government which affirmed its status as "a constituent unit of the union of India". Pakistan rejects the accord. India detonates its first nuclear device.
1982	Unsuccessful talks begin between India and Pakistan on a non-aggression

⁹⁸ ⁹⁸ Cited from the British Broadcasting Corporation, London. Available from : http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/south_asia/2002/india_pakistan/timeline/default.stm [Accessed on 09/01/2008] includes inputs from University of California Berkeley Library, Conflict in Kashmir: Available from: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/SSEAL/SouthAsia/Kashmir.html> [accessed 12/12/2007]

	treaty.
1984	Indian troops airlifted into the Siachen glacier in North Kashmir, tension rises in the area. Pakistan retaliates by fortifying the glacier from its side of what has become known as the worlds highest war zone.
1988	India and Pakistan sign an agreement not to attack each others nuclear facilities.
1989	Armed resistance to India rule builds in Kashmir valley. Muslim political parties complain that the 1987 elections to the state's legislative assembly were rigged against them. Militant wings are formed some demand independence for the state, others demand union with Pakistan. Pakistan gives its "moral and diplomatic" support to the movement. Pakistan calls for the issue to be resolved by a UN sponsored referendum. Indian government maintains that Pakistan was providing weapons and training to the militant separatists. Calls repeatedly for Pakistan to cease "cross-border terrorism". Pakistan announces successful test firing of its first long-range surface-to-surface missile.
1990	Several new militant groups emerged, most of which held radical Islamic views. Ideological emphasis of movement shift from a nationalistic and secularist one to an Islamic one. Partly supported by arrival in Kashmir of large number of Islamic " <i>Jihadi</i> " fighters who had fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union in the 1980s
1992	Pakistan said it has acquired the scientific know-how to make a nuclear bomb.
1996	Pakistani and Indian military officials meet at the Line of Control to ease tension after clashes.
1997	Surge in diplomatic activity as both nation celebrate 50 years of Independence. Foreign ministers meet in Delhi for first round of talks. Second round of talks in Islamabad announced an eight point agenda for peace talks, including a discussion of the Kashmir issue. Talks end in stalemate. Both sides agree to meet again.
1998	Arms race escalates between the two nations. India conducts underground nuclear tests in Rajasthan. Pakistan conducts six nuclear tests in Baluchistan. Pakistan tests its longest range missile, Ghauri, named after the Muslim warrior who conquered India. Both sides were heavily criticized by international community as fears of nuclear confrontation grew. US ordered sanctions against both, freezing aid, loans and trade. Japan, and several European nations follow suit. G-8 governments ban non-humanitarian loans to both.
1999	Lahore accord signed by both nations to "intensify their efforts to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir". India launches air strikes against Pakistan backed forces that had infiltrated into the mountains of Indian administered Kashmir, north of Kargil.

	<p>India claims that Pakistani forces belonging to the northern light infantry based in Pakistan administered Northern Areas were engaged in the operations. Pakistan denies claims and calls the forces “freedom fighters” fighting for the liberation of Indian administered Kashmir.</p> <p>Red Cross reports 30,000 people forced to flee homes on Pakistan side. BBC correspondents report 20,000 refugees on Indian side.</p> <p>US puts pressure on Pakistan, Prime Minister of Pakistan calls upon infiltrating forces to withdraw.</p> <p>In October General Musharraf led a military coup in Pakistan deposing the elected Prime Minister, his power was later validated by Pakistan’s supreme court for a period of three years.</p> <p>Coup condemned by International community, Pakistan suspended from the Commonwealth.</p>
2001	<p>Sept 11 bombing in USA brings rapprochement between Pakistan and the West. Pakistan agrees to co-operate with US’s campaign against Taleban.</p> <p>India shells Pakistani military positions and condemns Pakistan for cross-border terrorism.</p> <p>In October Kashmiri assembly in Srinagar is attacked, 38 dead. Chief Minister of Kashmir calls upon Indian government to launch a war against militant training camps across the border in Pakistan.</p> <p>In December an armed attack on Indian parliament in Delhi leaves 14 dead. Dramatic troop build up on the Indo-Pak border, military exchanges and raised fears of a wider conflict.</p>
2002	<p>Pakistan’s president Gen. Musharraf pledges that Pakistan would not allow terrorists to operate from Pakistani soil. Calls upon government of India to resolve the dispute over Kashmir through dialogue.</p>
2003	<p>India and Pakistan restore diplomatic ties.</p> <p>India announces that it is prepared to hold talks with the Kashmiri separatist groups.</p> <p>In November India agrees to a Pakistani offer of a cease fire along their borders.</p>
2004	<p>Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh meets President Musharraf in New York during UN General Assembly meeting.</p>
2005	<p>Kashmir earthquake effects Pakistan Administered Kashmir and part of Indian Administered Kashmir. Five points opened along the Line of Control for exchange of relief materials and cross over of quake survivors.</p>
2006	<p>India and Pakistan hold peace talks</p>
2007	<p><i>Samjhauta express</i> - a train service connecting Delhi to Lahore bombed, 68 dead.</p>

Appendix 3 Types of Migration

Eight types of Migrations from Kashmir (1947-2001). Study by Shekhawat.

1947 – The people who moved during the partition of India. These were the people who moved from the Sialkot region of Pakistan, to Kashmir. These people were called ‘refugees’ and were given no rights as Kashmiris in the region. They were not made into State Subjects.⁹⁹

1964 - During the tribal invasion of Kashmir, about 42,000 people are supposed to have left their homes and moved to Jammu during this invasion. No compensation was granted to them. Shekhawat surmises that any recognition of these people as migrants affected by conflict would mean accepting the fact that Pakistani troops had annexed the land on which these people loved. This area would later be called Azad Kashmir. In not recognizing these peoples plight the Indian government alienated them and denied them a right to compensation due to conflict, and loss of property in the conflict area.

The next three categories of migration come under the title of Border Migration:

Full fledged war related migration, 1964 & 1971 – The people from the Chamb area in Kashmir, which is close to the border, migrated during this period to the plains of the State. These 2000 families were also not compensated for the money and property they lost during the conflict.

Limited war related, Kargil 1999 – during this conflict about 40,000 families from the border areas of Akhnoor, Patwala and other adjoining regions moved to Jammu and the Srinagar valley. These people live in camps in Jammu today and many of the children affected during this conflict are in the Jammu & Kashmir orphanages.

Tension related migration, 2001 – This is the mass migration after the attack on the Parliament in Dec 2001. Research indicates that by 2002, the number of refugees who moved to camps in Jammu is approximately 175,000. These people live in about 90 camps in and around Jammu. These migrants are not permanent dwellers in any location. They migrate till the situation around their homes eases and then move back. The nature of the conflict in Kashmir is volatile, which means that many of these people shuttle between camp life, reconstruction of their broken homes and resettling in new areas again and again.

The last three types of migration identified by Shekhawat are the Militancy related migration.

Early 1990s – this is the time when a large number of Kashmiri Pandits left the valley, fearing their lives. It is estimated that 300,000 people left the valley in the late 80’s and early 90’s. This was the largest proportion of the population who left en masse from Srinagar and surrounding areas. These people moved to Jammu and lived in camps.

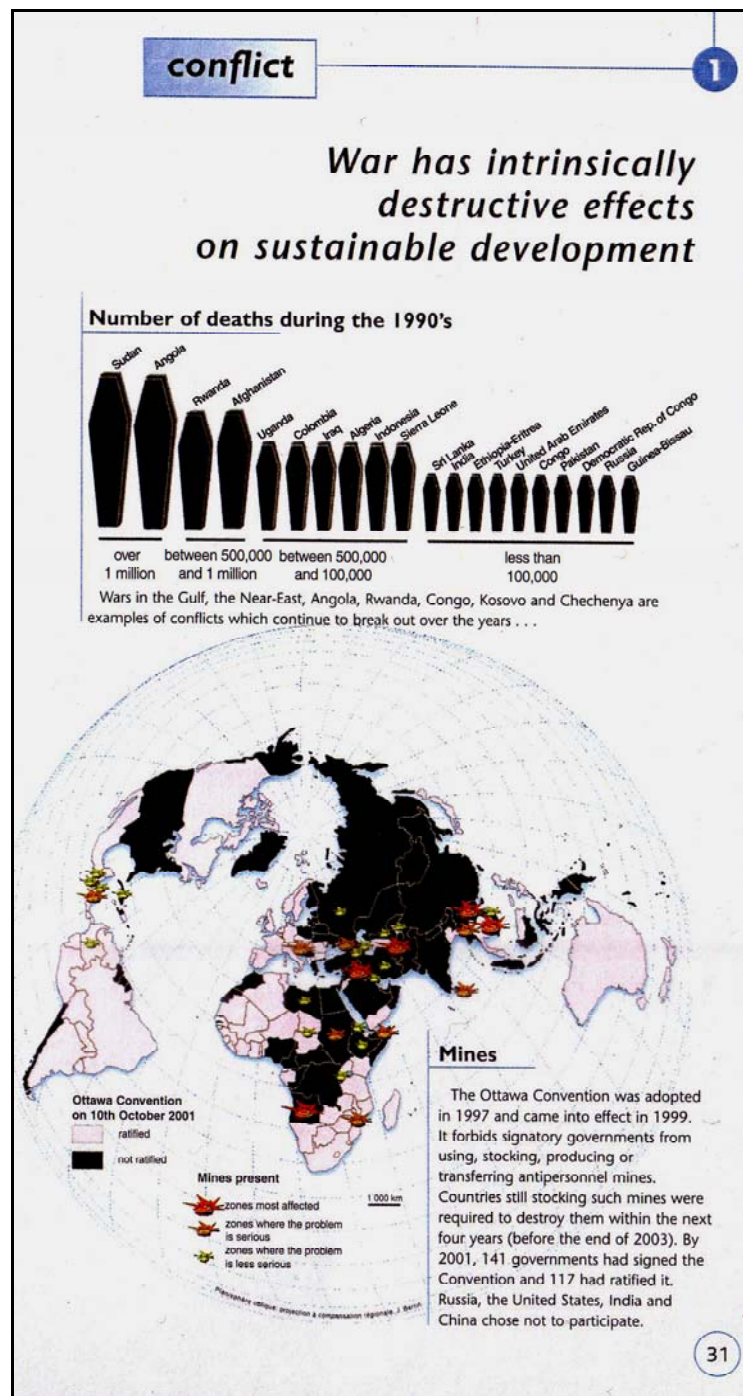
Kashmiri Muslims – many Muslims left the valley due to the increasing violence in the late 80’s and early 90’s. The fundamentalist terrorist threats that were emerging with

⁹⁹ State Subject of Kashmir, according to the laws that govern Kashmir, allows people the right to purchase property in the State. Most Kashmiris own this document as part of their identity as citizens of the Valley. The Law concerning State Subject was enforced in Jammu and Kashmir in 1927 by Maharaja Hari Singh to prevent rich foreigners from buying land and to protect the interests of the peasantry. This law was later adopted by the State’s democratically elected government. In 1957 the term ‘State subject’ was changed to ‘permanent resident’ by the new constitution of Jammu and Kashmir.

increasing frequency in the valley was the reason for their movement. 1856 Muslim families registered themselves as migrants in Jammu. Many did not register due to the threat to their lives due to fleeing a troubled State, not staying to fight the authorities and thereby being labelled as traitors.

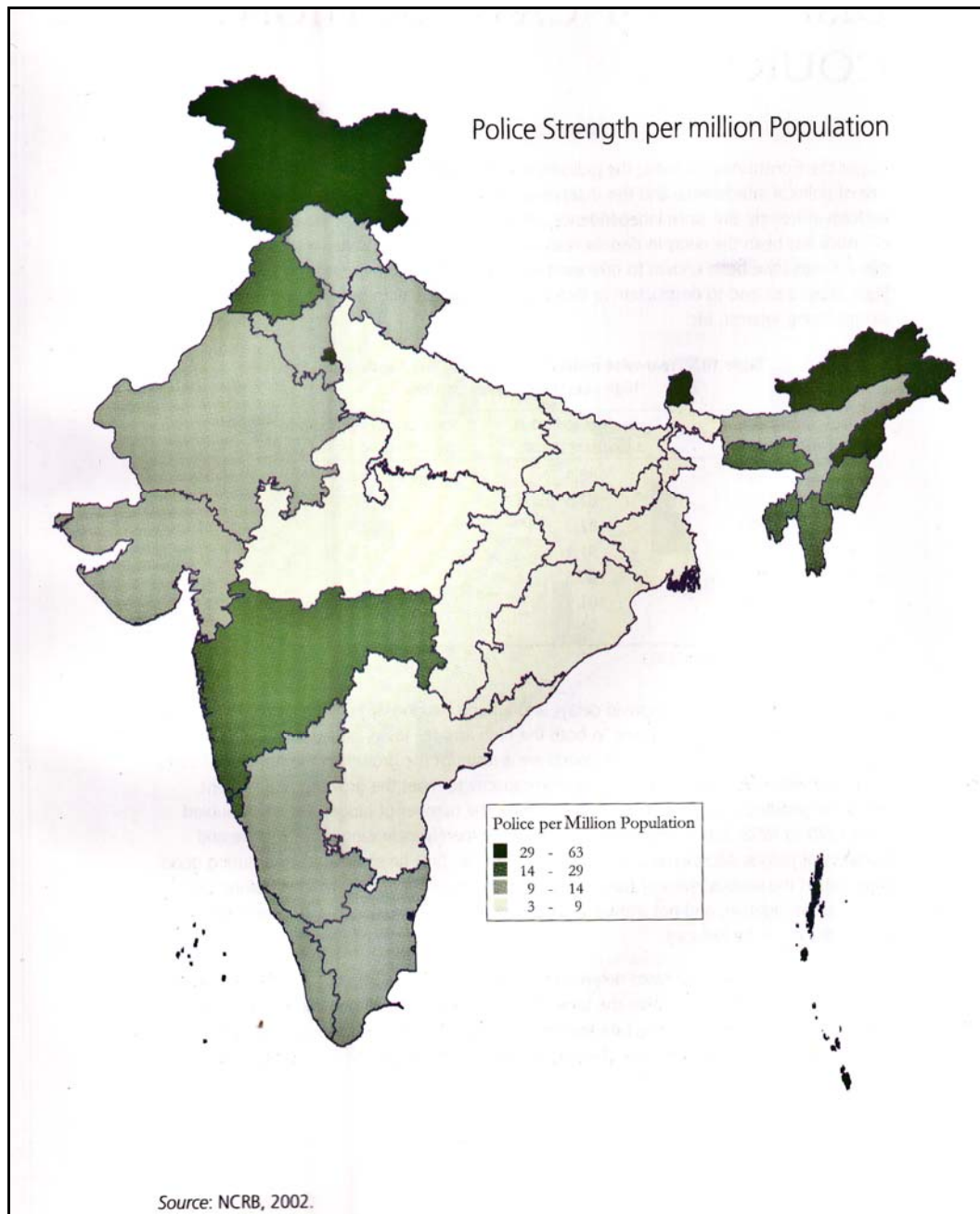
Sikh migration – Fundamentalism was something that affected the other minority community in Srinagar, the Sikhs. 1903 Sikh families registered themselves as migrants in Jammu in the early 90's. These people were from Doda, Rajouri and Poonch. Some were denied a migrant status due to reasons that are still unknown, these people then moved to Belicharana Camp. Many Sikhs sent their daughters to orphanages because they felt that they would not be safe in the camps.

Appendix 4 – Deaths caused by conflict



Sacquet, A (2005) *World Atlas of Sustainable Development – economic, social and environmental data*. London, Anthem Press

Appendix 5 - Police to Public ratio in India



Bajpai et al. (2005, p. 153)

Appendix 6 - Training at ZDPM.

Rationale: Training was requested by the respondents at ZDPM in order to develop understanding of how training could assist them in developing better products. Previous experience of working within textiles and interactions with design institutions in India and UK allowed me to develop this workshop. Delivery of such training would allow research findings to be embedded within the understanding of Kashmiri crafts. This training would also allow me access to individual respondents and their perspective and understanding of craft. This workshop would also provide information for recommendations for further work present in chapter seven.

Methods and Design of the Workshop:

Pre-workshop preparation: Through interviews and conversations with craftswomen and management. Observation of product design, content, techniques of manufacture, target markets for products. This training is drawn from training manuals within government publications, from the International Labour Organisation, training projects by non-government bodies as well as schools of design in India and UK.

Organisation: 3 assistants from ZDPM to help with setting up and execution of training.

Delivery: Lecture and demonstration technique used for delivery, along with teaching resources used within design schools and NGOs for craft training.

Numbers of participants: 23 (not including administrators and managers of the NGO)

Duration: 3 days divided into morning and afternoon sessions of 3 hours each + 1 day for review and feedback by participants and management.

Evaluation: End of the sessions peer review and discussions of learning outcomes of the training. Individuals were gathered at the end of the 3 day session in groups of 10-12 to provide feedback.

Elements of Design

Materials used: Cards, Drawing sheets for mind mapping, marker pens, water colours, yarn and naturally available materials like leaves, flowers and found objects and worksheets 1-3.

Dot: Explore the nature of a dot and how it can be used
Explore how dots can be used to create shapes
Analyse and compare use of dots within Kashmiri textile products

Line: Discover how a line is formed
Recognize that lines can express emotion and begin building character into lines
Understand how thickness of lines can be used differently
Recognize that the speed at which a line is drawn changed its quality

Colour: Understand and apply the concept of primary colours
Discover and create associations with colour
Develop ability to mix colours to arrive at required colour
Create a colour wheel to create colours found in nature
Understand concept of colour coordination and be able to create colour palettes

Explore attributes of colour – hue, tone, shade, saturation and contrast

Shape: Create basic closed shapes using dots, lines etc

Use shapes to understand the concept of composition

Texture: Understand texture and its types

Use elements of design to create textures

Use natural sources around to create a form, motif, pattern and textures

Exercise 1 - Understanding Balance

Materials used: Cards with culturally relevant visuals, drawing sheets for mind mapping, marker pens.

Process:

Stand in a circle

Stand on one leg, to see how long you can do so.

Discussion – why one can not stand on one leg for too long

Create definitions of balance

Show cards with visuals and ask for segregation into balanced and not balanced

Discuss issues of balance

Does everything have to be balanced to remain upright?

What is visual stability and how it achieved?

Introduction to concepts of symmetry, asymmetry, dynamic, static, and movement.

Make notes of terminology and new terms in Kashmiri and Urdu with appropriate translation.

Exercise 2 – Creating Shapes

Materials used: A4 worksheets, pencil, pen, crayon, matchsticks, large sheets for mind mapping, marker pens

Process:

Work with matchsticks, dots, lines in that order

On worksheet 1 – stick matchsticks with one end touching the other to form closed shapes. Label these shapes in English and Kashmiri

On worksheet 2, join the dots to create basic shapes

On worksheet 2 and 3 use curved lines, zig zag lines to get more interesting shapes

Discuss how the kind of line changes the quality and feel of the shape

Worksheet 3 has many scattered lines that need to be joined to form shapes

Discuss if any new ways of creating shapes was found

Can these shapes be used to create new motifs or patterns?

Are any particular shapes useful or applicable for the craft?

Develop understanding of how edges change the visual – jagged, straight, curving edges

Drawing of discussions to point that craft as an end product is a visual, shape is an important element of anything visual.

Exercise 3 – What is a dot?

Materials used: A4 sheets, pencils, sheet for mind mapping, cello tape and markers.

Process:

Develop answers to the question – what is a dot?

Create a mind map from this discussion

Ask participants to identify and list where they find a dot in their surroundings.

Participants can also collect objects from nature which they think apply to this exercise, these will be put up to enable sharing of ideas.

Look at your own bodies to see if any dots can be found?

Share stories about dots in Kashmiri culture, and make up stories as well about dots

Introduce how dots are used in other cultures and link this to dots in Kashmiri society.

Discuss issues of dots and their connection to religion.

Discuss presence of dots in Kashmiri crafts.

Exercise 4 – Understanding Material

Materials used: Collection of natural and man made materials including raw materials used in craft working by ZDPM. Visuals of materials that have changed over a period of time in terms of utility

Process:

Discuss what is understood by material.

Explore feeling generated by materials like old wool shawls, worn out leather, dried out vegetable loofas etc

Use leaf and a piece of metal and see what differences can be seen between these two.

Introduce concept of man made and naturally occurring materials.

How are these two different from each other?

Ask them to categorise visuals into natural and man made materials

Ask group to make a list of materials they use in craft working along with a list of other materials they could use within their work.

Exercise 5 – Basics of colour

Materials used: A4, A2 sheets of paper, water colours

Process:

Explanation of primary colours and how they are used to create other colours

Large sheets of paper used for making handprints in primary colours

Use same process to create overlaps over prints to create other colours

Make colour wheels by using swatches of primary colours

Use two primaries to make three secondary colours

Divide secondary colours and vary primary colour content to create further colours

Discuss how complimentary colours work as contrasts and within the colour families

Explain warm colours, cool colours and neutral colours

Discuss relevance of colour in Kashmiri society and list associations of colour

Exercise 6 – Natural Colours

Materials used: A4 sheets of paper, natural dyes and colourants, fabric

Process:

Group subdivided into groups of 4-5 members

Each given swatches of fabric with natural colourants like turmeric, charcoal, vermillion used as cosmetic makeup to replace the places of paint on the colour wheel

Groups make primary colour fabric swatches by mixings colours available

Groups make primary, secondary, tertiary colours and identify cool, neutral and contrasting colours

Colour wheel revisited to study difference between colours that exist in nature and those that are created synthetically.

Group allowed to experiment with dyes using natural colours

Discussion on importance of colour, signifiers within colours and associations of colours with feeling and within Kashmiri culture.

CREATING SHAPE - WORK SHEET 1. stage 1

• Complete
• Building
• Understanding

Example:



materials

A4 sheets
pencils & oil pastels
match sticks

time

20 minutes

CREATING SHAPE - WORK SHEET 2. stage 1

• Confidence
• Building
• Understanding

materials
A4 sheets
pencils & oil pastels

time
20 minutes

CREATING SHAPE - WORK SHEET 3. stage 1

• Confidence
• building
• understanding



materials
A4 sheets
pencils & oil pastels

time
20 minutes